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# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-007
Tuesday
12 January 1993

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East Europe

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## Bosnian Serbs Reject Peace Plan; Talks in Danger

*AU1201120093 Paris AFP in English 1144 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Geneva, Jan 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs on Tuesday [12 January] rejected a plan to end the brutal civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, bringing the four-month-old Geneva peace talks to the brink of collapse.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, given until Tuesday to accept the undivided sovereignty of the Bosnian republic, held to his insistence for a separate "constituent unit" for the Serbs. "We don't want to get melted into a new nation," he told a French television station shortly before the start of the make-or-break session of talks here.

Asked if this refusal could mean the end of the peace talks sponsored by the United Nations and the European Community, he said: "We are not responsible for that, the E.C. is responsible for pushing us into disaster."

Conference spokesman Fred Eckhard said the mediators were putting "maximum pressure" on Karadzic to accept their plan to divide Bosnia into 10 autonomous provinces under a multi-ethnic central government. He said efforts were under way to find a compromise but chairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen would report back to the United Nations if and when they decided no further progress was possible.

Asked if that judgment would be made Tuesday, he said: "Just give it a few more hours."

The talks here were billed as a last chance for a negotiated end to the nine-month-old civil war embroiling Bosnian Serbs, Moslems and Croats before the West gears for further military intervention.

Conference officials said the main stumbling block was the Bosnian Serbs' fear of being swallowed up in a future state by the majority Moslems or a coalition of Moslems and Croats. They said Karadzic's tough remarks Tuesday were aimed at appeasing hardliners in his camp and intensive efforts focused on finding some language that he could sell back home.

Vance and Owen held talks with Karadzic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that lasted into the early hours of Tuesday in an effort to win acceptance of the sovereignty issue.

Karadzic met later with Milosevic, widely considered a driving force in fomenting the Bosnian civil war, and hinted the Serbian strongman was urging him to sign the peace plan. "He doesn't feel the problems that we face," the Bosnian Serb leader said. He said the Vance-Owen plan "would create a unitary state under Moslem domination. That was the cause of the war."

"We are not seeking independence but we are running for own autonomy, our constituent unit," Karadzic said. "We can't give up the idea of our own personality."

Karadzic, who at one point Monday appeared to soften his demands for a Serbian state within Bosnia, said Tuesday he had to respect the hardline taken by his parliament last week. He said his delegation stood by their eight-point counter-proposal, which followed much of the text in the mediators' blueprint but omitted a key provision denying the rovinces "any legal international personality."

Also conspicuously absent was the Vance-Owen proposal for international monitors to supervise the transition to a post-war state in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The conference chairmen have said that guarantees of Bosnia's sovereignty were non-negotiable. But Karadzic said his side's plan was "not too different" from the mediators' proposals and could be the basis of a compromise.

So far only the Croats have signed the mediator's draft peace accord. The Moslem-led Bosnian government has agreed to the constitutional principles but has problems with the proposed boundaries for the provinces.

## Vance, Owen Optimism Waning

*LD1201095393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0926 GMT 12 Jan 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, January 12 (TANJUG)—Cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen said they were no longer optimistic regarding the outcome of negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina after talks with Bosnian Serbs' leader Radovan Karadzic and members of the Yugoslav delegation at the Geneva hotel 'Berg,' early Tuesday [12 January] morning.

Vance and Lord Owen spent two and a half hours in talks with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, and Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina President Radovan Karadzic in an attempt at finding a compromise solution for the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, late on Monday evening.

Vance and Lord Owen assessed the talks as another attempt at overcoming differences on the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They said that Karadzic had been given until Tuesday 10 a.m. to come up with a definite decision, and that this would decide on whether the plenary session would be called at all.

In seeking a compromise solution, Karadzic proposed that Vance and Lord Owen go back to their initial constitutional proposal submitted at the first round of talks, early in January. The constitutional proposal defined "Bosnia-Hercegovina as a community consisting of three constituent nations, i.e., three constituent units."

During continued negotiations which started on Janury 10, Vance and Lord Owen dropped the part "three constituent units." It has been learned that they did so at the request of Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic.

The Bosnian Serbs' delegation insists on such a formulation as it allows it to preserve its statehood.

If Vance and Lord Owen come up with a new proposal on Tuesday, a compromise is possible. The Bosnian Serbs' delegation does not have a mandate to change the decision of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly "that the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is one constituent unit, i.e., state—the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Consultations continued into the night in Hotel Berg, ahead of continued negotiations.

### Knin Serbs Urge Rejection

*AU1201120293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Report by Knin correspondent Danko Peric]

[Text] A telegram of support has just been sent from Knin to Geneva for Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as for the government and assembly of the Serbian Republic. The telegram reads as follows:

On the basis of the decisions the People's Assembly of the Serbian republic reached in Bijeljina, the joint assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the national assembly of the Serbian Republic in Prijedor, as well as the conclusions reached at the meeting held in Belgrade on 9 January, we demand that you do not give in to the ultimatum. Giving in to the ultimatum would mean a final defeat for the Serbian people in the Balkans and would degrade thousands of victims killed in the liberation struggle.

The telegram, signed by Zdravko Zecevic and Miro Paspalj, says the following: We are aware of our historic responsibility and do not doubt at all that the voice of the Serbian people will be a decisive factor in this unequal struggle of the world's politicking sides against the fate of an entire people. Do not succumb to the ultimatum and the so-called well-meaning advice which is most probably being showered upon you in Geneva, Dr. Radovan Karadzic and the government and the assembly of the Serbian Republic are told from Knin.

### Differences Remain

*LD1101224093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2151 GMT 11 Jan 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—Talks cochairmen of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen held in Geneva on Monday [11 January] with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic most probably have not resulted in bridging the gap between the two sides' views about the essential features of the future organization of that war-stricken former Yugoslav republic. [sentence as received]

"We have to continue discussing constitutional principles and clear up the differences between our two proposals," Karadzic told reporters after the talks. He said he did not like some features of the ten constitutional principles proposed by Vance and Owen.

The basic difference lies in the fact that the president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, which the Serbs proclaimed last year in those parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina which they control, is proposing a composite state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, while Vance and Owen are proposing a decentralized federation.

"If Quebec is a state then the Serb Republic also wants to be one," Karadzic said, explaining that the Bosnian Serbs did not want total independence, but autonomy within Bosnia-Hercegovina. "We recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina, but only as a tripartite community rather than a unitary state," he said.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for over nine months been the scene of a civil and religious war between its local Moslems and (Catholic) Croats, assisted by regular Army troops from neighbouring Croatia, and the local (Orthodox) Serbs.

The conflict escalated after the European Community on April 7 last year recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the request of its Moslems (44 per cent of the overall population) and Croats (17 per cent) and against the wishes of the Serbs, who make up 31 per cent of its population.

Karadzic's concept is identical to that accepted formally at the E.C.-brokered talks in Lisbon in April last year by all three sides in Bosnia, but subsequently rejected by the Moslems, who are demanding a unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Spokesman for the conference cochairmen Fred Eckhard also confirmed that constitutional principles would be discussed further in Geneva. Assessing the talks on Monday as having ended without tangible results, Eckhard said that if progress was achieved in the talks on constitutional principles, the cochairmen would call a plenary session on Tuesday.

Vance and Owen also held talks on Monday with the Presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, respectively. Eckhard said his impression was that Milosevic was trying to help in the search for a peaceful agreement.

Eckhard described Milosevic's role as offering assistance and good services in the dialogue between the Bosnian Serbs and the conference cochairmen.

Vance and Owen also met on Monday evening with President of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman. TANJUG has learned that the talks focused on Croato-Serbian relations. During the night the cochairmen are also scheduled to meet with representatives of the Bosnian Moslems.

It appears likely that Tuesday will show if it is at all possible to bridge the existing differences, or if what can be seen as the last chance to halt the agony of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be lost. Vance and Owen have given Karadzic until 10:00 local time on Tuesday to declare whether or not he will sign the two documents offered: That on constitutional organization and territorial division of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the peace agreement.

### Milosevic Comments on Talks

*AU1101201493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by unidentified reporter in Geneva on 11 January—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] How do you assess the course of the talks so far, and what do you think of the (?day)?

[Milosevic] You know why we are here. We are here to express the goodwill of Serbia and our citizens, of the Serbian people. We are here to help end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina as soon as possible, to support peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We are here to help in finding a just solution. We are not a party in the conflict, as you know very well, nor are we making decisions on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs. We are trying to help in the search for a successful, good, long-lasting, and just solution.

In this context, we held a long, two-hour talk with conference cochairmen Cyrus Vance and David Owen and their aides. We will now continue this conversation. In any case, be aware that everyone is making maximum effort for a good solution to be found to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

We are all concerned about it. I believe that all Serbs, without exception, want peace to be established. I believe that constructive shifts and moves could be made, especially in view of the fact that it is clear, and this is evident from the talks which we held with the cochairmen today, that the principle of equal treatment of the interests of all three peoples is being affirmed.

When this is the starting principle for the talks, then it is clear that necessary conditions for the talks to be successful exist. We will do our best for this to be achieved.

### Milosevic Addresses Reporters

*AU1101194893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to reporters in Geneva on 11 January; Milosevic speaks in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[Text] As you know, we are here to support peace. I am convinced that all sides will do everything to support the solution for peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is very clear that the two cochairmen of the conference have a very serious approach, a very complex approach, and that they are willing to find a basis for long-lasting and just peace.

One of the main elements among the principles necessary for a solution is equal respect, the principle of equal respect of interests of all three constituent peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is a very good basis for successful negotiations.

I hope that all sides will use this opportunity to stop this cruel war and to enable peace to prevail in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We are here to support this. The fact is that we are not a party in the conflict there, a party in the confrontation there, but we want to pay tribute to these goals. Thank you.

### Further Comments from Milosevic

*LD1101183693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Geneva, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said this evening in the Palace of Nations that he has come to Geneva in support of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He said this shortly before his meeting with Cyrus Vance and David Owen, the two cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia.

"I am convinced that all sides will do their utmost to bring peace to Bosnia," Milosevic stressed in front of about 100 journalists.

The president of Serbia said that cochairmen Cyrus Vance and David Owen "have a serious approach in the search for solutions to achieving a lasting and just peace."

Slobodan Milosevic stressed that "a precondition for achieving this is respect for equal rights for all three constituent nations." At the same time this provides foundations for successful conduct of the negotiations, he said. "I expect that all three sides will cite this precondition when seeking ways of reaching peace," Milosevic said.

As confirmed, Montenegro and Serbia Presidents Bulatovic and Milosevic will again meet Vance and Owen this evening, and it is not ruled out that Radovan Karadzic might join them.

It is announced that Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic will return to Geneva from Dakar late tonight. It is expected that Vance and Owen will convene a plenary session for tomorrow morning with all participants of the negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina—the three Bosnia-Hercegovina leaders and military commanders, with Yugoslav and Croatian Presidents Dobrica Cosic and Franjo Tudjman as mediators. At the insistence of the cochairmen, the Serbian and Montenegrin presidents, who joined the Yugoslav delegation, were invited to the conference.

### Milosevic Makes First Appearance

*AU1101141293 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Geneva, Jan 11 (AFP)—Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic made his first appearance at peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina Monday [11 January] but mediators reported little progress in winning Serbian guarantees of the republic's sovereignty.

Conference spokesman Fred Eckhard said a round of bilateral discussions Monday focused on the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to drop their hope for a state within the Bosnian state.

"I don't want to say that progress was made or differences were narrowed but the sessions were useful," Eckhard told a press briefing. He added that the problem was not insurmountable and "we are getting closer by clarifying."

Milosevic, the Serbian president widely blamed in the West for fomenting the brutal civil war in a drive for a Greater Serbia, flew in from Belgrade to join the talks which had resumed on Sunday.

It was his debut at the negotiations that began in September, although he has met frequently in Belgrade with Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, co-chairmen of the peace effort under U.N. and European Community auspices.

Milosevic, whose flight was delayed while awaiting clearance by the U.N. committee supervising sanctions against Serbia, called for efforts to end the nine-month-old conflict as soon as possible. "I hope that both (sic) sides will be cooperative and I am (an) optimist, looking to the end of this conference," he said on arrival. His first meeting was a lunch with Owen and Vance.

The co-chairmen had a morning meeting with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and scheduled another session in the afternoon to "bang away at him" on the central sovereignty issue, Eckhard said.

The spokesman said the Bosnian Serbs were "getting more comfortable" with the Vance-Owen peace plan for a decentralised state but "they just have to make the final leap (on sovereignty) on which the co-chairman cannot compromise." [passage omitted]

### Karadzic Rejects Cochair's Proposals

*LD1101155593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Geneva, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Bilateral talks held this morning between the delegation of the Serb Republic (in Bosnia-Hercegovina), the cochairmen of the Geneva conference Cyrus Vance and David Owen, and Finnish ambassador Martti Ahtisaari, discussed the similarities and differences between the 10 constitutional principles for the future organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina submitted by the cochairmen and the eight points put forward by the Serb side.

After the consultations Dr. Karadzic stressed in a brief statement to TANJUG that the 10 constitutional principles submitted by the cochairmen contained a number of restricting factors and imprecisions which fail to safeguard the Serbs' state and national identity within the framework of a future Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Karadzic confirmed that the Serb delegation would not give up those rights that were guaranteed by the most important international legal documents.

The president of the Serb Republic stressed that when the consultations with Vance and Ahtisaari resume this afternoon he will invoke all international charters and documents which guarantee the right to self-determination.

During his talks with Vance, Karadzic drew attention to a statement made yesterday by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas about France's intention to use force to free civilians imprisoned in camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Cyrus Vance promised Karadzic to do his utmost to ensure that the prisoners are freed and the camps on the territory of former Bosnia-Hercegovina closed. Karadzic offered both help and cooperation in this action.

### Karadzic Interviewed

*AU1101195493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, by unidentified reporter in Geneva on 11 January—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] Today we were still discussing the constitutional principles, that is to say, the framework of Bosnia-Hercegovina's constitution, the 10 principles, and the eight principles we proposed. We were actually looking for similarities and differences between these two proposals. Basically, we must define and obtain definite and authoritative explanations, as any ambiguities could later result in consequences which the Serbian people could not accept.

[Reporter] Could you give us an example of this?

[Karadzic] Well, for example, it is not known exactly who elects the Serbian representatives: Is it everyone or just the Serbs? Also, whether the state will be unitary or not. This is the most fundamental question. We want and must achieve a composite state. A unitary state is out of the question. The war broke out because the state was unitary and our rights were violated, because the Lisbon document was abandoned, and simply because no agreements (?were any good).

[Reporter] Do you think that the (?international community) will acknowledge this?

[Karadzic] Well, if they want success they should. If they do not want success, then it may happen that they will not. Hitherto, they did not acknowledge the Serbian proposals and the Serbian rights that are guaranteed by the most fundamental documents—the UN Charter, international documents on human rights, the Atlantic Treaty, the 14 Points of Woodrow Wilson, and by various political and legal acts. The latter is particularly important, namely, that our rights are guaranteed by legal acts. They were not realized, however, and that is why the war broke out in Yugoslavia. The war in Yugoslavia did not break out as a result of ideological disputes, but because the right of nations to self-determination was not equally recognized for all—for the Serbs as much as for the Slovenes.

## Karadzic Proposes Agreement, Referendum

*LD1101133993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1320 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Geneva, January 11 (TANJUG)—Leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic proposed on Monday [11 January] that an agreement be signed without delay on the undisputed boundaries between provinces of the Bosnian Moslems, Serbs and Croats, and a referendum be held on the disputed boundaries.

President of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (RS), a state of the Bosnian Serbs, Karadzic put forth the proposal during the Monday morning consulations with Cyrus Vance, cochairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia. Offering a five-point proposal elaborating the mechanism of establishing boundaries, Karadzic proceeded from the stand that the representatives of the Bosnian Moslems, Serbs and Croats have already agreed that ethnic and historical facts should be applied when drawing the future boundaries.

Karadzic proposed that a referendum be held within three months on cessation of hostilities and the signing of an agreement on boundaries, and that the U.N. and the E.C. be entrusted with the task of its organization and control.

The Bosnian Serb leader requested that U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees make possible the return of refugees within three months after the signing of the boundaries agreement, so that they, too, could vote in the referendum.

The cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, proposed in the course of the first round of the Geneva talks on January 2-4 that Bosnia-Hercegovina be a decentralized state divided into ten provinces with broad autonomy. This plan was at the time signed only by Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban.

On Sunday, Karadzic offered a proposal with constitutional principles for Bosnia-Hercegovina under which this former Yugoslav republic would be a composite state in which the majority of state functions would be performed by its provinces which would enjoy legitimacy in international relations.

## Talks' Proceedings Detailed

*AU1101164093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Report by Milorad Denda from Geneva]

[Text] Although the results of bilateral meetings which should bring the three sides closer on establishing peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina are awaited attentively here, the arrival of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has caused considerable interest among the many journalists at the Palace of Nations. Milosevic, who arrived in Geneva with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic this morning in order to join the Yugoslav delegation, said at the airport that he came to Geneva in order to express good will on the part of the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian people, who support the resumption of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina as soon as possible. Milosevic said that he hopes that all three Bosnian sides will be cooperative and that he is optimistic about the end of the conference. Asked to comment on the necessity and possibilities for realizing a Serbian state in Bosnia, Milosevic said that this depends on principles and maps. He said that the document proposed at the beginning of the negotiations represents a reasonable basis for broader and more thorough debate.

As we report, Milosevic and Bulatovic are attending a working lunch hosted by conference cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. The cochairmen are going to brief Milosevic and Bulatovic about the course of the negotiations so far.

This morning, Vance and Owen talked for several hours with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, about the similarities and differences between the 10 constitutional principles proposed by Vance and Owen and the eight principles that Karadzic presented yesterday. As we already reported, the essential differences are that the Serbian side's proposal sees Bosnia-Hercegovina as a composite and not decentralized state, and that it proposes that provinces perform the majority of state [drzavani] and not governmental [vladin] functions. Karadzic's proposal has dropped two principles from the plan drafted by Vance and Owen: there is no statement that provinces cannot conclude agreements among themselves and with foreign states, and that they cannot represent international subjects. The Serbian side, on the contrary, insists that it be possible for the provinces to create links among themselves, as well as with the parent states [drzava matica]. Here is how Karadzic briefly assessed today's talks:

[Begin recording] Apart from the plenary session and a short bilateral one yesterday, today we had a bilateral meeting with the cochairmen and UN negotitiator Martti Ahtisaari. We talked mostly about similarities and differences between our eight points, or basic principles, and their 10 points. These 10 points include some limiting factors and some imprecise elements, which fail to guarantee us that we will retain our state and national individuality within the future Bosnia-Hercegovina. We are not going to waive the rights guaranteed by the most important documents of international law. [end recording]

Conference spokesman Fred Eckhard has told reporters that at the Muslim side's request, the discussion about the maps was postponed until an agreement on constitutional principles has been reached, thereby implying that the constitutional principles have been accepted by the Muslim and Croatian sides. He reiterated that the Serbian side's request is in fact a request for a state within a state, something that the cochairmen do not accept as, according to him, a province cannot be allowed to secede. He expressed the hope, however, that a compromise will be reached.

Karadzic will continue negotiations with Vance and Owen in the afternoon.

### Tudjman Urges End of War

*LD1101222393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Dispatch from Geneva by correspondent Andjelko Perincic, including recording of remarks by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman]

[Text] Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman, who has been attending the negotiations about the constitutional and territorial organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina since yesterday, had talks with cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen this evening. Following the meeting, the only one which the Croatia delegation had in Geneva today since our country has resolved problems regarding a search for peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, he told Croatian journalists among other things:

[Tudjman] The conference has entered the final and critical phase, and it has become clear that some are not very interested in its success and that they want to prolong the war. In this situation, the Croatian delegation remains loyal to its policy, because a prolongation of the war is not in Croatia's interest, because as long as there is a war there, Croatia is being threatened from Bosnia-Hercegovina as a result of Croatian people suffering there, and also because the prolongation of the war prevents resolving the problem of UN-protected zones in Croatia.

Proceeding from these essential interests of the Croatian state and the Croatian nation as a whole, Croatia is making efforts to end the war in Bosnia, and also to create preconditions for normalizing relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia in the spirit of an earlier agreement with President Cosic, when an inter-state committee for resolving specific issues was set up. That was a committee which said that voluntary transfer of peoples should be allowed in order to speed up the resolution of UN-protected zones, as far as Croatia is concerned, and that that solution would not just be temporarily efficient but would also create, as I said, preconditions for a permanent normalization of relations. [sentence as heard]

We in Croatia can no longer suffer and endure the problem of Maslenica [bridge], the problem of reestablishing rail and road traffic not just between Zagreb and Slavonski Brod but also between Zagreb and Split, the problem of oil pipelines, the problem of the power grid, etc. So, both from the political and economic standpoints, Croatia is interested in seeing an end to the war in Bosnia and in creating conditions for normalizing relations, which is also recommended to us by main European and world factors.

[Perincic] We have learned from the Croatian delegation that the problem of Maslenica will be resolved very soon with the help of the cochairmen of the peace conference, which will resolve this major Croatian problem first temporarily and then permanently.

### Serb Commander: Map Favors Croats

*LD1101154693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bileca, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Vance's map of the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina, presented at the Geneva negotiations, completely expresses the wishes of the Croatian side, Major General Radovan Grubac, commander of the Hercegovina Corps, told journalists today. He stressed that if the map is accepted, the Croatian side would be given an area linked with the parent country, the Republic of Croatia, whereas the Serb territories are divided into several provinces without such a link.

In his opinion, "All this clearly indicates that the measures taken by the West toward the Serb nation in this region are very bad. It is now obvious that the international factors which are putting themselves forward as a peace broker are a party with its own interests in the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict."

General Grubac believes the Serb Republic must have a united, linked territory—namely the area of Krajina [western Bosnia], Semberija [northeastern Bosnia], Podrinje [basin of the river Drina] Hercegovina, and the area around Sarajevo in order to secure the continuation of the Serb nation's life.

Asked about the occupied parts of Trebinje municipality and Serb Hercegovina in general, General Grubac said that "not a single Serb village or place of execution must be abandoned by the Serb Army. We will liberate the whole of our country. Every fighter in the Hercegovina Corps knows that. However, we are in no hurry to do that, and we will realize our goal at the most suitable moment when conditions are ripe."

"It is painful to know," General Grubac stressed, that regular forces of the Republic of Croatia have been active in Bosnia-Hercegovina for more than eight months without incurring any bans or sanctions, and that the Yugoslav Army is passively sitting in their barracks as though this were happening in Bangladesh or the Andes, and not to the Serbian nation."

### Discussion on Maps Held

*LD1101181393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMT 11 Jan 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—The territorial divisions of Bosnia-Hercegovina will not be discussed until an agreement is reached on the constitutional principles of the future system of the former Yugoslav republic, spokesman for Vance and Owen told a press conference on Monday [11 January].

Cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia accepted the request of Bosnian Moslems to postpone the discussion on the map until constitutional principles are drawn up.

[Conference spokesman Fred] Eckhard said that the fundamental principle of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a sovereign state is unquestionable. He also said that the cochairmen did not accept the proposal of Bosnian Serbs which would practically enable a secession of a constituent unit.

Referring to this morning's bilateral consultations between Vance and Owen and the delegation of Bosnian Serbs, Eckhard said that the discussions suggest that Karadzic's eight-point proposal is not irreconcilable with the 10-point plan the cochairmen put forward.

The gap is and is not unbridgeable and the results and the continuation of the talks depend on whether it will be bridged, said Eckhard.

Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen expect to reach a compromise in their afternoon talks with the Serb delegation. The Serb delegation should make a "final step," assessed Eckhard adding that this step "was not far away."

Asked by reporters how Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic would influence the talks, Eckhard replied that his influence on the talks was yet to be seen. During his meeting with Vance in Belgrade, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic showed "flexibility" and "readiness to negotiate," said Eckhard.

Milosevic, who is taking part in the talks on the request of Vance and Owen, said upon his arrival at Geneva airport on Monday that he was optimistic about the end result of the negotiations. Milosevic said that his arrival to Geneva shows that Serbia is ready for peace and that Vance's constitution proposal was a good foundation for the negotiations.

The cochairmen did not comment on yesterday's statement made by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas that France was prepared to act unilaterally to liberate Serb-run detention camps in Bosnia, said Eckhard. Eckhard also said that the cochairmen would probably meet with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and president of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Monday afternoon to get familiar with the information these two organizations have. It is certain that these camps have to be identified, prisoners released and the sites closed down, said Eckhard.

During his morning discussions with Cyrus Vance, leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic called Vance's attention to Dumas' statement. Vance promised Karadzic that he would do everything to free prisoners and close the camps in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Karadzic promised to assist and cooperate.

Bosnian Serbs have closed the camps they controlled but Moslems and Croats did not do the same with the camps under their control.

## Trade Unionists, Government on Debts, Investments

*AU1201114493 Tirana ATA in English 1119 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, January 12 (ATA)—As the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania reports, recently its representatives and the trade unions of the Copper Corporation had a working meeting with representatives of the Ministry of Finances and Economy and the Ministry of Industry, Mining and Energy Resources and with managers of the copper company too .

The representatives of the government were briefed on the requests for clearing up debts, the workers' treatment, the withdrawal of foreign investments, the possibility to commission the copper wire plant, etc.

The trade unionists were told that debts will be cleared up in cooperation with the banks and it is foreseen the creation of a government structure for elaborating the socioeconomic policy on subventions for the enterprises in economic troubles. As for the treatment of the workers, it was said that the trade enterprises will supply it and organisational actions will be taken to pass onto the dependence of the corporation. As for the foreign investments, they said that the government will help to withdraw them in the mines and the copper wires plant in Shkodra too.

## Work Resumes at Balish Oil Processing Plant

*AU0901150093 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, January 9 (ATA)—The Department of the Intensive Oil Processing Plant in Ballsh reports that beginning with December 12 last year, the day when production was completely suspended in this plant, 350 workers regularly engaged at work. On January 7, 1993, 50 other workers appeared to start work, while on January 8, 130 other workers were registered to start working. Tomor Dosti, Arben Lika, and Taim Rrapaj, deputies of the Democratic Party, contacted the director of the plant. They were briefed on the situation, which keeps normalizing.

## PTT Accepts Independent Trade Unions as Members

*AU0601152693 Tirana ATA in English 1120 GMT 6 Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, January 6 (ATA)—Recently, the Executive Committee of the International PTT [Postal, Telegraph, Telephone] Trade Unions convened in New Zealand. It decided to accept the PTT Independent Trade Unions, member of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania, as a full right member to the International Trade Unions centered in Geneva.

## Nexhmije Hoxha Pleads 'Not Guilty' to Charges

*AU0801164093 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, Jan 8 (AFP)—Nexhmije Hoxha, 72-year-old widow of Albania's former Stalinist strongman Enver Hoxha, went on trial in Tirana Friday [8 January] charged with corruption and abuse of power, and pleaded not guilty. "I reject the indictment of the court," she declared defiantly to prosecutor Tedor Moski in a courtroom packed with representatives of the Albanian and foreign press. The Hoxhas' two sons, Sokol and Ilir, were among 75 people who found seats in the heavily guarded courthouse.

Hoxha made no other statements and was not questioned by the court.

Hundreds of people jostled outside the court before the hearing, waiting to catch a glimpse of Hoxha, considered the eminence grise of the former regime, even after her husband's demise.

The trial of Hoxha, and her coaccused Kino Buxheli, is the first major prosecution of members of the discredited Albanian communist regime, ousted in elections in March last year.

Hoxha, who has been in custody since her arrest in December 1991, looked unbowed in the face of the allegations against her. She is charged with corruption, looting state coffers and abuse of power and is alleged to have used state funds to cover her personal expenses.

Buxheli, 39, formerly in charge of allocating money to party cadres, also denied charges of embezzling public funds and abuse of power. He pleaded not guilty before the trial was adjourned until early Saturday [9 January].

Possible sentences for the two former leaders range from eight years imprisonment to the death penalty.

Buxheli had 800 people and as many members of the Sigurimi secret police under his orders to assist 26 families of communist leaders. His department was created in 1957 and disbanded in June 1990. Under Buxheli it spent $326,000 between 1986 and 1990, of which $76,400—a fortune in the poorest country in Europe—went into the pockets of Hoxha and her family.

Her children bought clothes, cosmetics and hunting outfits with public funds earmarked "special services for leaders" in the national budget.

Albanian leaders and their families also had 100 villas and a house in Paris at their disposal.

"I was working under the laws of the time and under orders of the (decisionmaking) politburo," a defiant Buxheli told the court. "If I had refused, I would have been put on trial as an enemy of the people and a saboteur."

The prosecution has apparently dropped a charge of complicity to murder, which Hoxha seemed set to face over her alleged involvement in ordering troops to fire on Albanians attempting to flee the country. A charge of complicity to commit genocide, relating to her deportation of families of fugitives from the regime, also seems to have been dropped.

Hoxha's trial could be followed soon by that of Ramiz Alia, 66, the former right-hand man then successor of Enver Hoxha. Alia has been under house arrest in his Tirana apartment since September.

Albania's new prodemocracy leaders made clear their willingness to deal with members of the former regime when, at the end of December, prison sentences of between 15 and 20 years were handed down to police and local authority officials in Shkoder, northern Albania.

They were found guilty of ordering shots to be fired into a crowd in April 1991 during anticommunist demonstrations.

Enver Hoxha, who founded communist Albania, ruled the country with a rod of iron from 1945 until his death in 1985.

The March 1992 elections were won by the Democratic Party of Sali Berisha, now president.

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## Hoxha, Buxheli Repudiate Indictments

*AU0801214993 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Report by Rezear Xhaxhiu]

[Text] [Announcer] The trial against the defendants Nexhmije Hoxha and Kino Buxheli started in Tirana today. Both of them are accused of misappropriating large amounts of state property. Our correspondent reports:

[Xhaxhiu] The first session of the trial against Nexhmije Hoxha and Kino Buxheli began at 0900 this morning in the Tirana District Court.

After the judicial body—presided over by Chairman Muharrem Kuci—acquainted the people with the trial procedures, the prosecutor, Mr. Teodhor Mosko, took the floor and read the indictment against the defendants charged with crimes and misappropriation and misuse of state property, committed in joint collaboration and defined under Articles 62, 106, and 13 of the Penal Code. The indictment states that Nexhmije Hoxha is accused of administrating and appropriating state property in the amount of 764,102 leks, of which 750,152 leks were in collaboration with Kino Buxheli, and misusing office in the amount of 121,735 leks, of which 89,822 leks were in collaboration with Buxheli. These crimes are described under Articles 62 and 106 of the Penal Code, as well as Article 13.

The indictment states that in collaboration with other people, Kino Buxheli has misappropriated state property in the amount of 3,261,888 leks, of which 712,142 leks were in collaboration with Nexhmije Hoxha, and abused power in joint collaboration in the amount of 1,138,682 leks, of which 89,822 leks were in collaboration with Nexhmije Hoxha, crimes which are defined under Articles 62 and 106 of the Penal Code.

After the prosecutor read the indictment, the judicial body began the trial proceedings by questioning Kino Buxheli and Nexhmije Hoxha, witnesses, and experts, as well as examining the evidence and all documents available in the file.

The session then continued with a statement by Kino Buxheli. The court decided that this session would not be broadcast live on the radio-television network. During his speech, which lasted more than two hours, the defendant tried to reject all indictment charges, including the appropriation of state property and misuse of office in joint collaboration because, according to him, he has committed no criminal act. He also gave a detailed report on the creation and activity of the Reception Directorate [Drejtoria e Pritjes], of which he was the director, and the duties of this office since its creation. In an effort to justify his innocence, Kino Buxheli often referred to the decisions of the Politburo and Council of Ministers regarding the special treatment that state and party leaders received.

The session then continued with the prosecutor posing questions to Kino Buxheli. In his speech, the prosecutor said that the indictment does not precede from prejudices, as the defendant stressed here by mentioning human rights and the Helsinki Charter. Mr. Mosko said that the law is not prejudiced because judicial bodies have received regular documents on the Reception Directorate's activity and the abuses committed by this directorate.

The trial session ended this afternoon and will resume at 0900 tomorrow.

## Defendants' Requests Rejected

*AU0901145593 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] Tirana, January 9 (ATA)—[passage omitted] The chairman of the jury Muharrem Kushi opened the trial and asked the advocates and the defendants if they agree with the composition of the jury and with the prosecutor. Both the defendants and their advocates said they agreed on these points. The advocate of the defendant Kino Buxheli presented some preliminary demands claiming that the Investigation Office has violated the law during investigation. He asked also that the penal case against the defendant Kino Buxheli be considered separately from that of Nexhmije Hoxha because, according to him, they have not a single element of cooperation.

The defendant Nexhmije Hoxha asked the jury that the trial be directly broadcast over radio and TV and not later because, according to her, possible manipulations may be made.

The prosecutor of the session Teodor Mosko asked the jury to summon as witness to the court the former minister of health Ahmet Kamberi because, according to the statements of Nexhmije Hoxha, he has ordered that drugs for her be given free of charge.

After consultations, the jury decided to refuse the demands of the advocate of the defendant Kino Buxheli and the request of the defendant Nexhmije Hoxha, finding them not based to the law. The jury accepted the request of the prosecutor of the session Mr. Teodor Mosko that the former minister of health Ahmet Kamberi be summoned as a witness to the court. [passage omitted]

After this, the chairman of the jury Muharrem Kushi, in the name of the jury, decided that from that moment of the session up to the end of the whole judicial process, no local or foreign reporter, photographer, or cameraman, except the Albanian Television, is allowed to enter the court hall. The Albanian TV will film the process completely to transmit it after the process is over. The jury decided that reporters of various press organs are allowed to stay in the hall but not to make any report or interpretation on the process until it is over.

### Hoxha: Expenses 'Are Not Unlawful'

*AU0901182393 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Text] The second hearing of the trial against the defendants Nexhmije Hoxha and Kino Buxheli started at Tirana District Court at 0900 this morning.

As a result of the broadcast of yesterday's hearing via the Radio-Television, today's session aroused interest among the Tirana citizens. Since early morning, they were gathered at the square in front of the court. The interest became greater as the defendant Nexhmije Hoxha was going to testify and make her explanations.

The session opened with Nexhmije Hoxha's speech and her explanations about the indictment against her. In these explanations, she tried to defend herself. I have had and still have a determined conviction that the expenses that are in fact made after Enver Hoxha's death are not unlawful, she said.

The session then continued with the Prosecutor Teodor Mosko posing questions to the defendant Hoxha. After stressing several problems that had to do with the nature of the indictment, which, according to him, there was no need to give this indictment a political character, as the defendant tried to present, he asked her direct questions related to the charge of appropriating state property and misusing it, which were stipulated by the Articles 62, 106, and 13 of the Penal Code.

After a short break, the session continued with questioning the first witnesses. The second session will start at 0900 Monday [11 January].

### Trial 'Not Simply for Abuses'

*AU0901193093 Tirana ATA in English 1905 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Text] Tirana, January 9 (ATA)—At the beginning of the session of January 9, the chairman of the jury, Muharrem Kushi gave the floor to the defendant Nexhmije Hoxha for her defence with regard to the indictment. In her address, Nexhmije Hoxha refuted completely the accusations made to her, claiming that every expenditure or abuse has been based on orders, decisions, and documents issued by the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers.

Her defence had striking political colours pretending that she has been brought to trial not simply for abuses but as the wife of Enver Hoxha.

But the indictment has proofs testified by written documents that the abuses she has made are completely after the death of Enver Hoxha.

After her address of defence, on the basis of the right defined by law, the prosecutor of the session Teodor Mosko asked the defendant to explain some moments of these abuses. After this session of questions, the chairman of the jury decided that the session should continue with the questioning of the witnesses. The witness Kaje Tafaj, former chief of finances in the Department of Receptions, was questioned. At this, today's session was over. The next session opens on Monday [11 January] at 0900 with questioning of other witnesses.

## Killing of Bosnian Vice Premier Condemned

*AU1201093493 Sofia BTA in English 1710 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Government condemns the assassination of the Bosnian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Hakija Turajlic, and extends its condolences to his relatives, a release of the government's press service reads. "Despite the complicated and tense situation in Bosnia on the eve of the Geneva talks, the Bulgarian Government hopes that the international community will find the right and peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis," the statement goes.

## Former Communist Leaders Face Indictments

*AU1201085093 Sofia BTA in English 1500 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—The investigation on case No. 3/1992 was formally completed today, Prosecutor Mikhail Doychev, head of the team of prosecutors and investigators in charge of the economic catastrophe case, told the press today.

A total of 16 members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee [CC] of the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], chairmen and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers between 1981 and 1989 down from the ex-General Secretary Mr. Todor Zhivkov will be indicted under Article 203 of the Penal Code of having provided grant financial and material aid to Third World countries and various parties and movement to an amount of over 250,000 U.S. dollars.

Mr. Doychev said that next week the case records will be made available to each of the accused according to a timetable, after which the Prosecutor's Office will draw up an indictment against them.

Apart from Mr. Zhivkov, the accused include ex-Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, was minister of foreign economic relations and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers until 1989; Vasil Tsanov, former member of the CC of the BCP and minister of transport; Georgi Karamanev, former president of the Home Trade Association and ambassador to Greece; Georgi Yordanov, former deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of culture, science and education; Grigor Stoichkov, former deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Standing Government Commission on Disaster Management; Grisha Filipov, ex-secretary of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Dimitur Stanishev, former secretary of the CC of the BCP, head of the Foreign Policy Department and Politburo member; Yordan Yotov, former secretary of the CC of the BCP and member of the State Council; Milko Balev, former Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP; Ognyan Doynov, former secretary of the Central Committee, president of the Bulgarian Industrial Association and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and later on ambassador to Norway and Iceland; Stoyan Mikhaylov, former secretary of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Stoyan Markov, former first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee on Quality; Chudomir Aleksandrov, former secretary of the Central Committee, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council in 1990.

Ognyan Doynov, who was an adviser on African affairs to press lord Robert Maxwell, and Stoyan Markov will be tried in their absence because they have left the country and are on the nationwide wanted list.

Today's DEMOKRATSIYA presumes that the prosecutor general may request the arraignment of the former Secretary of the CC of the BCP Aleksandur Lilov, who is now MP [member of parliament] and has parliamentary immunity. The presumption is based on the fact that last week the Prosecutor's Office indicted two ex-deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers between 1981 and 1986 when Mr. Lilov was number two to Mr. Zhivkov in the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP.

## Prosecutor Seeks To Charge MP

*AU1201102193 Sofia BTA in English 1707 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—On January 8 Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev asked National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov for permission to initiate criminal proceedings against Aleksandur Lilov, M.P. [member of parliament] and ex-Socialist leader, Mrs. Sonya Brazitsova, spokeswoman for the Prosecutor General's Office, told a BTA reporter today. The Prosecutor General also asked for permission to apply a measure of restraint—"house arrest," to Mr. Lilov.

Prosecutor General I. Tatarchev points out in his request to parliament that during the investigative proceedings opened last year in connection with the grant aid given to pro-communist regimes in countries of the Third World sufficient evidence was found to charge Mr. Lilov with "gross embezzlement."

Top officials of the ex-Communist Party and members of Mr. Georgi Atanasov's government (1986-1990) have already been charged in the case. Mr. Andrey Lukanov, ex-minister for foreign economic relations in Mr. Atanasov's cabinet, was accused in the same case and stripped of immunity as M.P. last summer.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov was in charge of ideology in the Communist Party until 1983 when he was removed from this post by then communist leader Todor Zhivkov. After T. Zhivkov was ousted in 1989, Mr. Lilov was restored to his position in the communist top leadership and elected leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party by the party congress at which the ex-Communist Party changed its name. Mr. Lilov retired from this post in December 1991 but many believe that he still is the BSP strategist.

As parliament is now in recess, its chairman is the sole person who can give permission for initiating legal proceedings against any of its members.

## Security Official Criticizes Defense Minister

*AU1201103393 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 7 Jan 93 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission on National Security, by Konstantsa Ancheva; place and date not given: "The Defense Minister Strikes With His Sword"]

[Text] [Ancheva] The new minister of defense, Valentin Aleksandrov, was most eager to carry out rapid changes. As chairman of the Parliamentary Commission on National Security, how do you assess this record speed in personnel reshuffles?

[Slatinski] I find Aleksandrov's first measures rather puzzling. When he was appointed "secretary of state" at the Defense Ministry by former Minister Ludzhev he passionately defended the existence of this position, whereas as soon as he became minister his first act was to abolish it.

The new minister's actions dispelled all my hopes that concern about defense and the country's national security would be the chief motivation of his activities. Aleksandrov preferred to engage in a violent purge based on the criterion of differing views. He is not prompted by considerations about the civil servants' professional skills or intellectual or educational qualities. Such is the case with the former Deputy Minister Georgi Ananiev, who was practically carrying the whole burden of the ministry's affairs while Aleksandrov himself was on sick leave. The same applies to Rumen Kunchev, director of the Strategic Studies Center, whom I consider a man of vast European culture and erudition. I have repeatedly had the opportunity to benefit from his assistance at international conferences. We cooperated in drafting several papers that favorably impressed international forums. His ideas were always greatly appreciated. He is a specialist whom the Defense Ministry can be proud of and should highly value. The new defense minister, however, as soon as he stepped into office, treated him in a very rude manner and dismissed him without even notifying him. The same applies to other members of the defense department who learned about their dismissal from the daily DUMA.

I consider the new minister's decision to disband the Ministry of Defense's Chief Inspectorate as very questionable. This problem would have required careful examination. The inspectorate is a necessary structure. Perhaps the members of the inspectorate demanded more rights to exert their control function not only over the Army, but also over the whole Armed Forces. Nevertheless, no one listened to General Mutafchiev's professional arguments, which he defended with exceptional competence before the Parliamentary Commission on National Security (which devoted a special meeting to this hearing). The new minister dealt with General Mutafchiev in an unceremonious manner, without observing elementary ethical rules. The motive for this action was the fact that the staff of the Chief Inspectorate played a balancing role between the civilian personnel and the military structures. The members of the inspectorate took the liberty of holding opinions that differed from those of the chief of the General Staff, and hence, the decision to do away with them without further consultation was no coincidence. The worst is that it is not only a question of personnel reshuffles, but of structural changes. Only someone who does not care for national security and the country's interests would dare to commit such an act without notifying the National Security Commission. All this justifies my conclusion that extremely drastic personnel and structural changes are under way at the Ministry of Defense, changes that are not based on any logical arguments, but rather are prompted by the wish to do away with competent professionals who are much better acquainted with the problems of the ministry than the minister himself, with people who are democrats in spirit and as regards their moral standards.

The new defense minister forgot to mention that his theories on the material-technical re-equipment of the Army and on the improvement of the military personnel's social status were drafted by the former leadership. The way in which all these affairs are being handled leads me to believe that the minister is obeying someone's instructions. I do not hesitate to say that he is also prompted by personal motives in his attitude toward the civil servants he dismissed because the latter dared to express doubts about his own professional qualifications in exercising the functions of "secretary of state."

In observing developments at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, I have the feeling that some members of the new cabinet are placing their personal ambitions above national security and the country's interests. Nowhere in the world are such changes made without consulting other organs and relevant institutions in advance. We shall see whether it is a question of personal motives, or of a deliberately planned and specific policy, which is likely to be promoted with the firm authoritarian methods of the man who stands behind all the changes. I am deeply disappointed with these developments and I have lost some of my most cherished illusions. I sincerely hoped that we might find a common language with those people. On the very first working day after New Year I invited both the minister of defense and the internal affairs minister for a talk, but they virtually rejected my invitation and started with their purges instead.

[Ancheva] What is your comment on the new appointments at the Ministry of Defense?

[Slatinski] Some of the newly appointed officials are unknown to me. As far as the others are concerned, it is not my job to check on them, but it is public knowledge that the deputy defense ministers are appointments based on nepotism, such as the case of the father in law of the notorious presidential adviser Zdravko Popov. Let us not forget that one of two new deputy ministers is affiliated with the old State Security structures. Naturally all these facts should be verified. Generally speaking, I am shocked at the new style that has been introduced. Naturally the work of the former team should also be examined. I have several remarks to make on it as well. However, I cannot accept the methods of dismantling structures rather than trying to accomplish creative work. This style is by no means commendable. It should be denounced.

[Ancheva] Nevertheless, the possibility of parliamentary control remains. If it should be established that the changes are based on political, rather than professional motivations, would the National Assembly, as the country's supreme legislative organ, not be in a position to intervene?

[Slatinski] I cannot commit myself to speak on behalf of the National Security Commission, as a whole, at this point Under all circumstances, I will take advantage of the available mechanisms so as to enable the National Security Commission to clarify the actions of the new ministers, especially as regards dismissals of personnel. However, I am afraid that the support for this government in the National Assembly, which was elected with the votes of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] in the first place, will be sufficient to block parliamentary control even in our own commission. I have no illusions at all in this respect. It will be very difficult for us to intervene in cases of personnel and structural changes. Our only chance is, on the basis of the Defense and Armed Forces Act, at least partially to correct the damage caused by the structural changes. Regarding the personnel changes, parliament has no power to abolish them, but it is entitled to express its opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, this will hardly be possible in view of the new balance of forces in the National Assembly.

[Ancheva] How would you interpret the fact that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is not headed by a civilian?

[Slatinski] It is my theory that the cabinet was formed on the basis of the principle—whoever accepts a ministerial post will be appointed. Regarding the law enforcement ministries, they are headed by people who will not prevent others from supervising their activities. As far as the minister of internal affairs is concerned, his appointment represents a drastic violation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Act, which confirms my impression that no one is prepared to observe the law once he has decided to impose his will.

[Ancheva] What is the planned procedure in this case?

[Slatinski] I presume that both ministers will be promoted to generals, after which they will be immediately pensioned off. This will be the formula: Generals of the reserve are promoted to ministers.

[Ancheva] On Tuesday [5 January] the president held a meeting with chiefs of all special services, namely, the Intelligence Service, the Security Service, the Investigation Service, and the National Bodyguards Service. As far as we heard, the situation at our southwestern borders was discussed. Were you, as chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Commission, invited to attend?

[Slatinski] Despite my persistent letters to the relevant commissions, the Act on the Consultative National Security Council has been delayed, which created a vacuum in this respect. No organ entitled to coordinate the efforts of all services, institutions, and structures dealing with national security matters has been established yet. From this point of view such a conference can only be approved, considering that the situation is critical, that various changes are under way, and efforts should be coordinated. I am only disturbed by the fact that parliament has been ignored. This is not a question of personal prestige. The fact is that the Parliamentary Commission on National Security is disregarded. The entire National Security Commission was invited to attend the preliminary discussions on the defense and Armed Forces bill. Now that all representatives of the services in charge of national security are convened, not even one single member of the commission has been invited. Such an approach fails to involve the efforts of all institutions and creates prerequisites for the promotion of group interests rather than safeguarding the protection of our national interests.

The sphere of national security issues should mobilize the combined efforts of all institutions, the powers and functions of the president's office, of the executive power, and of parliament. If parliament should be excluded from discussions on problems of national security, all decisions in this field are likely to be incomplete to a certain extent, and I would even say that they would be illegal.

### Environment Minister Reports on Situation

*AU1201103493 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—The basic problems of Bulgaria's environmental policy result from the legislation and the lack of an overall concept of economic regulators, the newly elected minister of the environment, Mr. Valentin Bosevski believes. He discussed the condition of the Bulgarian environment at the cabinet's meeting today. There have been several customs concessions to the import of environmental equipment so far, Mr. Bosevski stressed. National and municipal environmental protection funds are expected to be established shortly, he said.

According to the report presented by Environment Minister Valentin Bosevski before the cabinet today, the elaboration of Bulgaria's environmental strategy till the year 2000 had been completed back in late 1991. The World Bank then gave a very high praise to this development.

The new leadership of the Ministry of the Environment intends to set up a National Environmental Protection Agency, national radioactive protection system and a special emergency team systems which should react in cases of environmental incidents.

Bulgaria has signed 19 international conventions and agreements on environmental protection so far, Mr. Bosevski said.

The Ministry of the Environment will move six bills and 12 statutory instruments before the government by the end of the first quarter of 1993. Environment Minister Bosevski expressed his dissatisfaction with the nonobservance of the Bulgarian-Romanian Convention on Environmental Protection in the area of the common border. He expects this problem to be settled through diplomatic channels as early as possible.

## Ahmed Dogan Discusses DPS Priorities

*AU1101114193 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Jan 93 pp 1, 2, 3*

[First part of interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS), by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "The Country's National Interests and Security Are the Rights and Freedoms Movement's Highest Priorities"]

[Excerpts] [Veleva] Mr. Dogan, 1992 ended with the formation of a new government. Is the successful mandate of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] the result of the mistakes consistently committed by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], or of the DPS's correct strategy and tactics in our political life?

[Dogan] [passage omitted] The failure of the SDS mandate was actually a result of its incompetence. The BSP mandate, as distinguished members of their parliamentary group have already openly admitted, was literally wasted. This was presumably not only a question of negligence, but also a deliberate act of the so-called BSP hardliners, who were not interested in implementing their own mandate. In addition to this, I am convinced that objective circumstances determined the failure of the BSP's own mandate. Our society is not ready to accept a mandate of the Socialists, and under any circumstances, the political forces would have created conditions for confrontation in the event that the mandate had been implemented. This is an important psychological factor.

It is precisely in this context that the DPS mandate was an objective result of the fact that the two dinosaurs of our parliament, namely our two big brothers [the SDS and the BSP], failed to observe the fundamental rules of political life. It is by no means the result of a strategy planned in advance, nor the result of any deliberate intention to take particular actions that would lead to the implementation of the DPS mandate, as some people within the SDS and outside it presume. Such risks can hardly be successful in politics, considering that a small party such as ours with only 24 members of parliament, a party which is still regarded negatively by a certain part of society, can hardly manipulate things so as to obtain a mandate. After the failure of the first two attempts, our mandate was the only possible method of stabilizing the country under the difficult circumstances of the current situation in the Balkans and in Europe. It was the only method of consolidating parliament, of enabling our state institutions to converse in a new political language, and of creating the peace necessary for the country during the winter period. [passage omitted]

This government is not a DPS government, but it exploits the DPS mandate, which has led to numerous attacks implying that the government would not pursue the program of changing the system, and even that it is likely to jeopardize the security of our state. Some people have even taken advantage of the situation by writing it off as "Turkish." [passage omitted].

[Veleva] Nevertheless, you relied on the vote of the BSP. What was the price for this? Does the "Lukanov deal" really exist?

[Dogan] I will tell you something very important. One basic principle prevails in politics, namely that a politician is capable insofar as he is able to realize or to transform a given opportunity into reality at a certain stage in the country's development. The second factor is that you journalists and quite a few people in parliament were not entirely familiar with the text of the Constitution. If we have a minimum quorum (namely 121 deputies), according to the Constitution, only half of them plus one are sufficient to vote for the government. It is a question of elementary parliament arithmetic. Unfortunately, our opponents did not grasp this truth and I am convinced that they are not familiar with it. After the SDS walked out of parliament, we only needed about ten of their votes, and about 27 or 28 votes from the BSP, which, with our 24 votes, would have made it possible for the government to "pass."

[Veleva] Your original calculations proved to be correct. But there is even more—you obtained 76 BSP votes. How did you manage to obtain those deputies' votes, which turned out to be more than you originally assumed?

[Dogan] Simply with the ideas which inspired us in hoping for their support. In the first place, we were particularly eager to obtain the support of the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD—the moderate wing of the BSP]. It consists of approximately 40 members, and their votes alone guaranteed our successful election, were the SDS to have walked out, as in fact happened. We knew in advance that not all the deputies would leave the hall, even if it had been decided in advance, and this is what actually happened. If the BSP supported national security, the stability of the state, the change of the system, and nationwide peace, it was bound to vote for us under any circumstances. The Socialists' own electorate would not have forgiven them if they had voted against the DPS mandate, because this was a real chance for the country, namely the chance to transform the opportunity of stabilization into reality! This is precisely what happened. We were not dependent on anyone's views. The deputies were bound to vote for a government which we all need. The alternative is well known. No one has an interest in letting things go so far. This was the basic factor which justified our hope for support, rather than a question of deals. In addition to this, I must point out that Lukanov was never part of our calculations. Very few people are aware that Lukanov's case was discussed in parliament several weeks before our mandate. The majority of the members of parliament refused to put the issue on the agenda. It was repeatedly sent back to the Legislative Commission.

Another point is that we, as the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, should have paid greater attention to this issue, which not only concerns Lukanov as an individual. It is a precedent in a country where democratization is under way. It is a case in which the accusation does not correspond to reality and does not involve any offense. Citizens' rights and freedoms are fundamental priorities of our party. If you should happen to be in prison tomorrow, I, whether willingly or unwillingly, must pay attention to this fact.

[Veleva] In implementing your mandate, did you take into account the psychological factor of the Bulgarian people's national self-awareness?

[Dogan] Yes, this was an exceptionally important question. We even hesitated to implement our mandate, and not only because of our friendly feelings toward the SDS, but also from the point of view which you just mentioned. [passage omitted] We have always been guided by historical realities. If the DPS, which is an ethnic party, obtains the mandate to form a government, one could presume that it would form a Turkish or an anti-Bulgarian cabinet. This is elementary logic. However, as you see, not one single Turk is a member of this government. There is even more: There is not even a DPS member in it. Mr. Matinchev is not a DPS member. I would like to draw attention to this fact in particular. Of the four Bulgarians who are members of our parliamentary group, only one, Prof. Sepetliev, is a DPS member and belongs to the central leadership. Both Mr. Buchkov and Mr. Palchev are not DPS members, which is to their great credit. I am glad that, both on the occasion of selecting an appropriate prime minister and at the stage of forming the cabinet, this principle was accepted and we had the opportunity of delicately but categorically expressing our support for the new cabinet, without posing specific, preliminary conditions. This is also a very important factor.

[Veleva] Should this mean that the DPS, as a political force, does not intend to interfere in the government's work?

[Dogan] If you specifically mean the new government, I would like to tell you frankly that we supported it with 24 deputies, while the SDS supported it with 28, and the BSP with 76 members of parliament, which means that we are in the minority.

Even if we had not supported the government, it would still have been approved. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] Is it not paradoxical that the major national formations, such as the SDS and the BSP, were replaced by the DPS as regards the concern for national interests? According to the circumstances, neither hesitates to accuse you of ethnic affiliations.

[Dogan] It is not paradoxical. A party which started out from the ethnic issue and assumed the task of defending the rights of citizens from a given ethnic group against a policy of ethnic-cultural genocide and state terrorism, to which part of the Bulgarian people was being subjected, should adopt the defense of human communities, as well as the country's security as its priority targets. These two basic principles lead logically to the realization and implementation of a policy which should be exclusively focused on overriding nationwide interests, and this is not paradoxical. While such things are natural for any other party, we are required to make an additional effort, to announce clearly and confirm that we are really a nationwide Bulgarian party.

[Veleva] This still seems to remain unnoticed, while events are already regrouping and forming an alliance of extremely conservative SDS members and extremely left-wing BSP members on the basis of the nationalist issue.

[Dogan] It is highly significant that the extreme left and the extreme right have already found a common language, namely, the language of nationalism. I am very glad that counterforces and countertrends have emerged both on the left and on the right side of parliament, and they are already intent on banning the language of nationalism from parliament as a whole. A few months ago I announced that nationalism was extremely dangerous for our country at this crucial moment in the changeover of system. If the rightist and leftist extremists represented by Lilov and Savov should find a common language, there is a real danger not only of administrative dictatorship, but also of ethnic conflicts. This I am convinced of, because the red hardliners exploit the nationalist issue as an attempt to justify their involvement in the national rebirth process and in the minorities' assimilation policy, as well as an attempt to avoid legal persecution and prison. The rightists, meanwhile, exploit it simply as a political tactic aimed at asserting themselves in an extremely dangerous political situation, in view of the advance of nationalist forces in former Yugoslavia and Central Europe. Their common language is not so much dictated by personal considerations as by the coincidence of some common values on questions concerning their self-preservation. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] Mr. Dogan, you were the first to talk about SDS fascism. How would you comment on the fact that the president of the Republic's portrait was burnt and he was declared Bulgaria's Public Enemy No. 1 by his former supporters?

[Dogan] I was shocked by the very act of burning the president's portrait. I was even more shocked that this happened in the presence of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, Minister of Justice Luchnikov, the minister of defense, the minister of internal affairs, and other members of parliament. I can hardly imagine what this should mean unless it is the beginning of a phenomenon which, if not restricted, could be rather dangerous, even from the country's external security point of view. Similar actions would be subject to the most severe punishment in any other country. Anywhere else such an act committed in the presence of deputies, ministers, and the prime minister himself, would raise the question of their resignation. They could even be subject to legal action. Unfortunately, there are still people in our country who think that anything is possible and an any act should remain unpunished at the initial stage of democratization. I wonder where the chief prosecutor, who is so eager to interfere in other cases, could have been on that occasion, and why he did not pay attention to it? I am particularly aggrieved that the incident remained isolated and was but sporadically commented upon, mostly by journalists, but was otherwise accepted as normal. [passage omitted]

## Zhelev, Aleksandrov Speak to Army Officers

*AU1101132293 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Jan 93 p 1*

[Report by Colonel Ivan Sotirov: "President Presents Defense Minister to the Basic Command Staff of the Bulgarian Army"]

[Text] You know Mr. Aleksandrov quite well. His biography was published in the press, therefore, I will not repeat it. This was stated by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, Bulgarian president and supreme commander of the Bulgarian Army, on 6 January at a ceremony at the Festive Hall of the Ministry of Defense, at which he presented the new defense minister to the basic command staff of the Bulgarian Army. I hope that the ministry's military bloc and General Staff will work well together with the civilian minister. This is especially important now because of the complex situation in the Balkans, which requires a unity of opinions on behalf of the Army's command staff. In conclusion, Dr. Zhelev wished the new defense minister good health, happiness, and fruitful work for the benefit of our Army to all attending generals, officers, and civilians.

I am happy and proud to become the leader of the Ministry of Defense at this difficult hour for Bulgaria, Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov said. I will make every effort to reach a consensus on the importance of a nonparty attitude and eliminate once and for all attempts to use the Army for political goals. The Army must serve only the flag and the motherland in accordance with the soldier's oath. The situation in the Balkans is such that it does not allow us to be weak.

Concluding his brief speech, the defense minister wished success to all participants and expressed confidence that they will work together and selflessly in the name of Bulgaria.

The ceremony was attended by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov; Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, head of the Bulgarian Army General Staff; Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, adviser to the president on issues of national security; generals and officers.

## Klaus Rejects German Demand To Annul Decrees

*LD1101152293 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus called "unacceptable" a demand from the Sudeten Democratic Party to annul the so-called Benes decrees on the basis of which Sudeten Germans lost their property and had to leave the Czech territory after the war.

In a written reply to CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, the prime minister says, inter alia, that the situation created—with the agreement of victorious powers after World War II and strengthened in the course of nearly 50 years that followed—could not be changed without a violation of the basic rights of present citizens of the Czech Republic, without shattering legal guarantees. This would result in the destabilization of the political situation in the Czech Republic.

According to Klaus, the government is bound by valid legal norms, above all by the restitution bills and by its declaration from last July, in which it pledged not to allow changes to the legally set deadline for restitutions.

## Dyba: Split Progressing Without 'Major Problems'

*AU1201114393 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 12 Jan 93 p 7*

[Unattributed report on interview with Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba; place and date not given: "Czech Republic Is Leader Among Eastern Economies; Split With Slovakia So Far Without Any Problems"]

[Text] Of all postcommunist states, the Czech Republic is currently achieving the best economic results, Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba said in an interview with DIE PRESSE. The split with Slovakia has so far taken place in a "civilized way." The agreement on the division of federal assets will be signed shortly. What is still lacking is the timetable for monetary union. However, the weak economy in the West is having negative effects, because the country is selling no less than 70 percent of its exports on Western markets.

The separation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia has so far taken place "without any major problems," Karel Dyba said. The division of the Army, foreign currency reserves, and foreign assets have already been concluded. Now one has to wait for the final balance of the CSFR national bank so that one can divide the federal assets.

The customs union is making difficulties because many new forms have to be filled in now. Unlike the customs union, which should have a "lasting character," the fate of monetary union is uncertain: "We do not yet have a timetable." Nevertheless, both sides have made preparations for the split of the common currency. The koruna is to be canceled in the middle of the year—maybe even earlier. "We were planning to introduce new bank notes, anyway," Dyba emphasized. They will be printed in the Czech Republic but also abroad.

Cooperation with the partners in Bratislava is working well. Slovakia participated in a major tourist fair that recently opened in Brno, for example.

Dyba describes the economic situation of the Czech Republic as the "best of all postcommunist countries": Although the gross domestic product continued to decrease even in 1992 by about 5-6 percent, since the second quarter the situation has continually improved compared with the previous three months. Annual inflation rates could be kept at 12-13 percent. The construction industry grew by 20-25 percent in real terms, while turnover in retail trade was up 20 percent. No fewer than 40 million tourists visited the old CSFR, which is an absolute record. The visitors spent $1.5 billion, $1.2-$1.3 of which was in the Czech Republic. Earnings from the tourist trade accounted for as much as 12 percent of export revenues. Foreign investment in the CSFR in 1992 increased by 30-40 percent and reached about $900 million.

Privatization has made a "major leap ahead," the minister said. The first round of voucher privatization has been concluded: "We realize that managements are behaving in a modern way even now, because they know who their companies are owned by." In spring, the shares of the privatized enterprises will be distributed to the new owners. However, the decisionmaking process is still too slow due to excessive bureaucracy in many spheres. The insolvency law, which has already been adopted, will be put into force only once the market economy works because, otherwise, it would lead to "speculative bankruptcies." At the moment, there are still too many insecure factors in the economy; a tax reform has been implemented, moreover, one has to come to terms with the division of the state.

The weak western economy is affecting the Czech economy, because 70 percent of its exports go to the West. It is difficult to sell products in the east because of the lack of money there. The Czech Republic is trying to maintain equal contacts with Austria and Germany. Prague does not consider any western country as a model, but wants to apply the best economic methods.

## Minister Says Migration Bill Unconstitutional

*LD1101224593 Prague CTK in English 2147 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 11 (CTK)—Czech Justice Minister Jiri Novak today said that the bill on special measures to ensure public order, submitted to the parliament at the end of last year by Czech Prosecutor-General Jiri Setina, runs counter to the constitutional order of the Czech Republic.

Under the bill, nonpermanent residents in regions declared by the government as threatened by migration would have to ask for permission to visit and would have to pay a fee for it. The bill also envisages other limits on visitors, house owners and tenants, including controls in apartments, and proposes penalties for law-breakers.

Novak said he objects in particular to those provisions which concern illegal use of another person's property. I share expressions of displeasure of lawyers at that part of Paragraph 6 which would charge courts...to pass an unconditional prison term in all cases. In a democratic state this would be an unusual act, to say the least, Novak said. He added nevertheless that the bill should not be a reason for dismissing Setina, whose dismissal was requested by deputies for the Left Bloc on grounds that the bill contravenes the constitution.

According to current legislation, the prosecutor-general is not authorised to submit draft laws to parliament, he may only present issues which require legislation. Since the attitude of Czech parliament deputies to the bill is mostly negative, none of them is expected to present the bill in his or her name.

Meanwhile, the Romany Democratic Congress (RDK) associating 19 Romany organisations in the Czech Republic today appealed to the parliament to dissociate itself from the bill and not to deal with this proposal in any shape it may have in the future.

A RDK statement, obtained by CTK today, called on the Czech government to take effective measures to solve the social situation of the Romanies (Gypsies).

## Coalition Joint Candidate for Presidency Urged

*LD0801173993 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) supports Vaclav Havel as candidate for the Czech presidency, ODA chairman Jan Kalvoda told journalists in Prague today. He added that his party would like the Czech Government coalition to propose soon a joint candidate for the post.

The government coalition is composed of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Christian Democratic Party-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) and the ODA.

Kalvoda said that the ODA does not agree with the view of some parties, especially opposition ones, that the presidential election should be consistently linked to the decision on a provisional senate of the Czech Parliament.

Under the Czech Constitution of December 16, 1992, the president is to be elected at a joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

However, the Senate has not yet been created. Its filling will be discussed only at the end of February and beginning of March if the 60-day period for discussing a constitutional law is observed.

On December 19, the then Czech National Council rejected a draft law on creating the Senate by a transfer of deputies of the now-defunct federal parliament who were elected in the Czech Republic.

Kalvoda today supported the idea of electing the first Czech president before the end of the month. He thinks that the Constitution's provision on presidential election in case the post is vacated could also be applied in the election of the first president. The provision says that if the presidential post is vacated, a new election is held within 30 days.

In an interview with the Czech daily RUDE PRAVO January 5, referring to the Constitution, Kalvoda said that even if the Senate is not created, its role is played by the provisional senate. Before the provisional senate is set up, its functions are performed by the Chamber of Deputies. Therefore, he sees no problem in electing the president by the Chamber of Deputies only.

Kalvoda's view is at variance with that of Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS). On Thursday [7 January] he said that the presidential election should not be held before a decision on the establishment of a provisional senate is made. Kalvoda told journalists that the way of presidential election and selection of a candidate for the post are to be discussed by the chairmen of the coalition parties on Monday, January 11.

## Social Democrats Back Havel for President

*LD1101192293 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party is backing Vaclav Havel's nomination for the Czech Presidency. This has been agreed by the presidium of the party's Central Executive Committee at its session today. At the session, it also decided that the Social Democrats will push for the adoption of the law on the third anti-communist resistance and initiate the adoption of the law on public officials' conflict of interest.

## Constitutional Issue May Affect Havel's Support

*LD1101183493 Prague CTK in English 1818 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 11 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Party (KDS) will have to reconsider its support for the candidacy of Vaclav Havel for Czech president if the president should be elected only by the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament and not also by its Senate, KDS chairman Vaclav Benda said today.

Havel, former Czechoslovak president, is the joint presidential candidate of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and its coalition partner, the KDS.

Benda told CTK that if the Senate is not filled, a different constitutional situation will arise.

The Constitution of the Czech Republic was worked out as a certain system of balance, naturally assuming that Vaclav Havel is a possible presidential candidate. In case one of the constitutional bodies, the Senate, does not exist, this balance would be upset to a certain extent, Benda said.

Under the Constitution, the president is to be elected by both chambers of parliament. The Senate has not been created yet due to disputes about the way of its creation. One possible way is the transfer to it of former federal parliament deputies elected in the Czech Republic, supported by the ODS-KDS coalition.

## Finance Minister Warns of Price Regulations

*AU1201083793 Prague CTK in English 2059 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—If retailers do not start to apply the new value added tax properly, the Czech Government is ready to approve price regulating measures, Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik told television viewers tonight on the main news broadcast.

Next Monday [11 January], the Czech ministers in charge of the economy will discuss the tax situation after the first week, Kocarnik said. Today, after only four days of the tax being in effect, the government is aware that prices have risen much higher than anticipated. He emphasised that the government must and will take steps to stem higher prices.

Kocarnik's words are in conflict with a statement by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus who said on Wednesday that the government would not resort to price regulations but would try to educate the public in the correct application of the new tax.

* * *

The current excessive price fluctuations in the Czech Republic shops due to the new value-added tax and public confusion would soon cease, Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba said at a press briefing in Brno, South Moravia, today.

When customs surcharges are removed from imported goods, these would be better able to compete on Czech markets. Czech producers and retailers should be made cognizant of this, Dyba added.

The minister also wants housing legislation finally passed, so the Czech housing market can start functioning properly.

## Personnel, Structural Changes Planned in Army

*LD1101151393 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Defense Minister Antonin Baudys announced that in the near future there will be some personnel changes in key posts in the Czech Army. Speaking at a news conference after his first visit to the Military Command Center in Olomouc, he also said that in the first half of this year structural changes will take place. Frantisek (? Grajner), the head of the Defense Ministry's personnel administration, noted the fact that about 21 percent of the command staff are of Slovak nationality. Lieutenant General Karel Pezl, chief of the General Staff, added that those soldiers will have to opt for Czech citizenship by the end of March or otherwise they will be unable to serve in the Army of the Czech Republic.

## Minister Sees Possible Military Threat From East

*LD1101202693 Prague CTK in English 1956 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 11 (CTK)—If East European countries fail to create politically stable and economically prosperous social systems, a certain military threat to the Czech Republic might arise within three to seven years, Czech Defence Minister Antonin Baudys said today. In the course of his visit to the military academy in Brno, South Moravia, Baudys told CTK he does not see an immediate danger from the Balkans.

Asked whether his considerations about a military threat from the East also take into account Slovakia, Baudys said that even this is possible.

Earlier in the day, Baudys told a press conference in Olomouc, North Moravia, that some personnel changes in the key Army posts may be expected in near future. He said a lot has already been done in the transformation of the Army but, according to him, it still does not correspond to the recent changes in Europe. He said structural changes will be made in the Army already in the first half of 1993.

## Meciar Claims Czechs Breached Customs Agreements

*AU1101211893 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 7 (CTK)—The Slovak Republic wants to maintain as close contacts with the Czech Republic as possible, but Slovakia must also seek an explanation from Czechs why they unitarily breached (unspecified) customs agreements, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said at a meeting with top-ranked government employees today.

Meciar emphasised that demands placed on Slovak Government employees would be soon considerably increased. The employees must become computer literate and fluent in at least one foreign language. There are many capable people not only at the higher levels but also among the lower ranks of government employees, the premier said.

However, Meciar believes that especially among the latter group there are many of those using administrative methods more suited to the old Austro-Hungarian empire. All these people need are old-fashioned sleeve covers, they perform their work very poorly at unnecessary high cost and are thus very inefficient, the premier said.

## Meciar Stresses Commitment To Constitution

*LD1101152693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] The Constitution of the Slovak Republic is fully democratic and it does not allow for any normalizer [normalizator—reference to those executing the "normalization" process after 1968 occupation] to get hold of the necessary space to exercise a unilateral influence over the society. This is what Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said in an interview for the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic today in connection with an ever increasing number of accusations from the ranks of opposition politicians who are trying to attribute to him efforts for normalization and dictatorship. He emphasized that the Slovak Government is striving to moderate the political tension and to create an atmosphere of peace and cooperation.

At the same time the prime minister denied in the interview allegations that the recent recalling of some directors of district job centers had been politically motivated.

### No Room for 'One-Sided Influence'

*LD1101182293 Prague CTK in English 1747 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 11 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today said that the Slovak Constitution offers no room for any one-sided influence over society and that Slovakia's present political climate was not conducive to such attempts.

In an interview for the Slovak News Agency TA SR, broadcast by Slovak Radio, Meciar was reacting to accusations from opposition politicians that he allegedly attempts to pursue a policy of normalisation and dictatorship.

Normalisation was the term used for the period following the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Meciar also denied charges that recent dismissals of several directors of district job centres had been politically motivated, citing financial discrepancies or neglect of duty as the reason in each case. His example was the case of the director of the district job centre in Kosice, East Slovakia, who has failed to secure the return of the property of the former Czechoslovak Communist Party. Meciar said the man's errors in management verged on a criminal offence and the case has been referred to a prosecutor. Meciar added that the director was claiming dismissal for political reasons.

## Regional Daily Publishes Alleged Blacklists

*AU1201084093 Prague CTK in English 1411 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia Jan 7 (CTK)—The Slovak regional daily SLOVENSKY VYCHOD today published extracts taken from what it alleges are the internal files of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia's (HZDS) regional office in Roznava, East Slovakia, which contain the names of people employed in government bodies, schools, health care, agriculture, privatisation and tax commissions, deemed bothersome to the HZDS.

The lists, according to the paper, were compiled on July 29, 1992 by local party chairman, Anton Barbierik. They further detail the personal traits and political orientation of a number of individuals. The document also recommends that the Slovak Interior Ministry conduct reevaluations of officials of secondary importance, such as district prosecutors, district telecommunications directors, even heads of local veterinary posts, the paper writes.

The paper accuses the HZDS of violating the terms of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms and adds that it is clear from all the material that it (list) was prepared on orders from above.

## Nationalist Leaders Outline Party Goals

*AU1101212293 Prague CTK in English 2050 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 7 (CTK)—As long as the customs union and currency agreement lasts between the Slovak and Czech Republics, it may eventually benefit Slovakia to devaluate its currency, the Executive Vice-Chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS) Anton Hrnko said at his party's press conference today.

Slovak goods would be then cheaper while Czech ones more expensive, Hrnko explained.

Another high official of the party, Vitazoslav Moric, said that the privatisation process was too slow in the Czech

Republic and therefore it is necessary to privatise everything that can be privatised in Slovakia.

The member of the board of the World Slovak Congress, Tibor Divinec, denied that his organisation has promised to increase the flow of foreign capital to Slovakia whenever the republic declares sovereignty. (it did last July 17.) Such capital was believed to be raised mostly among Slovaks living in North America. I think that something like that was promised by chairman of the Congress, Marian Stastny (hockey's Quebec Nordiques former player), but I do not know who authorised him to make that pledge, Divinec told newsmen.

Hrnko then described the SNS presidential flag design idea. He added that the usefulness of his nationalist party has not ended with the Slovak independence and therefore the party should not be dissolved. Slovakia has only taken the first step. It still has to be secured economically and militarily while its foreign policy must be strengthened as well.

The party distributed among journalists a statement saying that it was urgent to end immediately the artificially triggered economic and moral decline of Slovakia. The statement also said that the party views independent Slovakia as a democratic country, which should be a promising and a just homeland for all Slovaks no matter their nationality, religious affiliation or political beliefs. The SNS also appealed to other Slovak parties and movements to jointly concentrate all efforts to build and strengthen the independent and democratic Slovak Republic.

The SNS belongs to the Slovak Government coalition being represented in the parliament. It won some 9 percent of votes in last June elections.

## SDL Confirms Position, Relation to HZDS

*LD0901203093 Prague CTK in English 1941 GMT 9 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 9 (CTK)—The Democratic Left Party (SDL) will not change its relation to the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and will remain in opposition, Slovak Television said when informing of today's session of the SDL Executive Committee in Zilina, west Slovakia.

Slovak Parliament Deputy Lubomir Fogas said the party will continue to support the transfer of former Federal Assembly deputies to the Slovak parliament. However, they should only attend debates on constitutional laws, the Constitution and on calling a referendum, Fogas said.

According to Slovak Television, the Executive Committee also dealt with the preparation of the party's congress to take place May 21.

## Presidential Candidates Meet With Journalists

*AU1201084193 Prague CTK in English 2207 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 7 (CTK)—The only official candidate for the post of Slovak president satisfying the provisions of the Slovak Constitution is at present Jozef Prokes whose candidature was officially announced by the Slovak National Party (SNS) deputies' group in the Slovak parliament two days ago.

Slovak writer, Ladislav Tazky, who was put forth by the Democratic Left Party (SDL) at the end of last year, has not yet accepted his candidature. Tazky told journalists today that he will announce his decision on January 14. If he does not accept the nomination, he will give the name of a person who he will consider more suitable for the post, Tazky said.

The ruling Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) will decide about its candidate at a session of its Presidium on January 16. According to Roman Kovac, Slovak deputy premier and HZDS deputy chairman, the names of two candidates are known at present and the Presidium is to choose one of them.

All the current candidates for Slovak president met with journalists today. Present were the two potential candidates of the HZDS, Roman Kovac and former federal parliament chairman Michal Kovac, Ladislav Tazky, and Jan Klepac, chairman of the Christian Social Union (KSU) who has been put forth by a group of Slovak citizens.

Prokes was not present at the meeting since he was attending today's talks between representatives of the Czech parliament's Chamber of Deputies and the National Council of the Slovak Republic in Prague.

All the candidates present agreed that a future Slovak president should be a person with moral authority who is able to ensure Slovakia's trustworthiness abroad as well as good contacts with neighbouring countries.

Differences appeared in views on whether the candidate should or should not be a member of a political party, and on the form of the presidential election. While Tazky prefers a direct election, the other candidates stand for election by the parliament. Michal Kovac believes that the president should be a member of the HZDS because the movement has assumed responsibility for Slovakia's restoration. He said that if he were elected, he would not give up his membership of the HZDS, but would also refuse any function in it.

## Tazky Declines Presidential Candidacy

*LD1201095493 Prague CTK in English 0923 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 12 (CTK)—The Slovak writer Ladislav Tazky, 68, a preliminary presidential candidate of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), announced on Monday [11 January] that he does not accept his candidacy. He told CTK that his decision was purely a private one and he would not give any details on it. Later I shall express myself more extensively on this, he added.

January 7, Tazky told journalists that if he does not accept the candidacy, he will name the person whom he thinks to be most suitable for the presidential post. But he did not comment on the question on Monday.

Last Decmeber, Tazky told CTK he would probably give up his candidacy because he does not consider policy the most convenient area for his activity and that he would prefer pursuing his literary work.

## KSU Calls for Creation of Home Guard Force

*LD1101172393 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 11 (CTK)—Slovakia needs to establish Home Guards that would be based on a civic principle, Chairman of the Christian Social Union (KSU) Jan Klepac told journalists today. He said that home guards have considerable financial advantages over a regular Army.

Home Guards should cooperate with the Slovak Army, counting about 40,000 men, in ensuring the republic's defence, Klepac said. He added that the recent statement by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar that Slovakia has no enemies was irresponsible.

## SMENA Journalists Plan Publication of New Daily

*AU1001161893 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 6 Jan 93 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Vladimir Popelka: "Will a New Daily Be Born?"]

[Text] Almost 100 domestic and foreign reporters met with the (present) management of the daily SMENA in the Umelecka Beseda building yesterday. The management announced, first and foremost, that it does not accept the decision to give notices to Jozef Weiss, director of the daily, and Karol Jezik, its chief editor, that they received from the newly appointed Board of Directors of the daily SMENA shareholding company and that were signed by Engineer Milan Sedlacek, chairman of the Board of Directors. According to information from the company register, the aforementioned shareholding company had not been registered by Monday [4 January] and, what is more, even by yesterday morning, which makes the decision of its Board of Directors legally invalid.

Karol Jezik added that the Board of Directors would have to repeat the entire act of recalling after the registration of the shareholding company; only then is he willing to respect the Board of Directors' decision. Many questions from reporters concerned the reasons and the methods of the recalls; many reporters argued that, even if the shareholding company were to be registered in the next few days, this would cast doubt on the independence of courts as, according to the law, a registration takes 60 days. SMENA Deputy Chief Editor Jan Kamenisty stressed that, in case the date of the registration is moved forward, the daily's old management will file a complaint against it. Karol Jezik stressed the fact that the state failed to observe basic democratic and professional principles in the whole case. What is also terrifying is the fact that the government took this step on the first working day of the existence of a democratic Slovak state. This compels the SMENA collective to try to publish a new daily similar to the present SMENA, a daily giving scope to nonconformist, critical views. Its provisional working title is SME [WE EXIST]. The chief editor did not rule out that some staff journalists would stay in SMENA under its new management. Asked whether the new chief editor, Gabriela Baranovicova, was on duty on the day when the results of the last elections were published (SMENA was published lined in black on that day), Karol Jezik replied that he is responsible for the newspaper. He confirmed, however, that the newly appointed chief editor of SMENA was on duty as head of issue that day. Asked whether the state's intervention in the daily SMENA jeopardized democracy in Slovakia, Jezik said that the case should not be personified. It does not have to mean a threat to democracy, of course; it would be worse if the government thwarted the publication of the new daily. He stressed that his dismissal was not the best signal for abroad. The other reporters present agreed with this.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 6 January on page 3 carries a 500-word "dos, CTK"-signed report on the news conference given by the SMENA management. The report includes the following passage: "SMENA commentator Robert Kotian drew attention to Vladimir Meciar's interview for the weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK of April 1991, in which the Slovak prime minister said that press freedom was in jeopardy in Slovakia. 'Vladimir Meciar also said that he hopes that, if a single editor is recalled, the public will raise its voice of protest. I am therefore confident that the prime minister will now protest against the dismissal of the SMENA chief editor,' Robert Kotian added." The LIDOVE NOVINY report also mentions that SMENA currently has a circulation of 85,000 to 90,000 during the week and 160,000 on weekends and that it made a profit of 6.64 million korunas in the first 11 months of 1992, which calls into question the "economic reasons" cited as the official explanation for the replacement of the daily's management.]

## New Board of Directors Head Quits

*AU1001162493 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 7 Jan 93 p 1*

[TA SR report: "Engineer Milan Sedlacek Has Given Up"]

[Text] Slovak Television editor Milan Sedlacek has told TA SR that he sent a letter to Baltazar Duben, state secretary at the Ministry of Education and Science of the Slovak Republic, in which he announced that he was giving up his seat on the Board of Directors of the Daily SMENA shareholding company effective 6 January. As Milan Sedlacek states in the letter, he did so after the director of the personnel management of Slovak Television delivered him a letter stating that his membership on the Board of Directors might be qualified as a particularly gross breach of labor discipline.

### Recalls Seen as Sign of 'Normalization'

*AU1101212093 Prague CTK in English 2124 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava Jan 7 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) considers the recent dismissal of the leaders of the Slovak daily SMENA a clear sign of the current Slovak Government's normalisation efforts, the KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky told a press conference in Bratislava today.

SMENA's Editor in Chief Karol Jezik and Director Jozef Weiss were dismissed January 4.

The government is unlikely to allow other ideas than its own ones to be freely spread by the mass media. The fact that since January 1 the citizens have been informed only through a single news agency implies new totalitarianism, Carnogursky said.

The Hungarian Civic Party, which is not represented in the Slovak parliament, also criticised the government's recent policy on the media, the party chairman, Laszlo Nagy, said today.

On Wednesday [6 January], Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar rejected the accusation that the government is responsible for the dismissal of the daily's leading editors.

### Journalists Protest Changes

*AU1001162193 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 6 Jan 93 p 2*

["Statement by the Presidium of the Board of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists" issued in Bratislava on 5 January]

[Text] At an extraordinary meeting today, the Presidium of the Board of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists expressed indignation over the method by which Jozef Weiss, director of the daily SMENA, and Karol Jezik, chief editor of SMENA, have been recalled. Even had this course of action been in conformity with the law, the Presidium of the Board of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists considers the economic reasons cited for the recall of the management of the daily SMENA to be a pretext. At the same time, it draws attention to the fact that such steps cast doubt on the principles of democracy and freedom of speech that are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

Presidium of the Board of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists

Bratislava, 5 January 1993

### Meciar Denies Knowledge of Recalls

*AU0801162793 Prague CTK in English 2216 GMT 6 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 6 (CTK)—Slovak Radio today quoted Premier Vladimir Meciar as saying that he rejects the accusation that the government is responsible for the dismissal of leading editors of the daily SMENA.

The editor in chief of the daily, Karol Jezik, and its director, Jozef Weiss, were dismissed January 4 under obscure circumstances by Milan Sedlacek, the chairman of the joint stock company DENNIK SMENA, which publishes the paper. Economic reasons were stated as the reason for the step.

SMENA branded itself a daily for young people. It was famous for its stands not conforming to the Slovak Government. For instance, one day after the June 1992 parliamentary elections, which brought victory to Meciar's Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), the paper's front page was lined in black. This met with Meciar's criticism.

To seek the government behind everything...is unsolid at least, Meciar said at a meeting with the leadership of the Union of Slovak Journalists, Slovak Radio reported today. Meciar said that like any other citizen, he learnt about the SMENA case from the press.

Both Jezik and Weiss said their dismissal was unlawful. SMENA editors have said that the board of directors of the DENNIK SMENA joint stock company was entered in the trade register only January 5, one day after the decision to dismiss Jezik and Weiss. Moreover, the dismissal was to take effect retroactively as of January 3.

In this connection, journalists from the daily challenged the freedom of the press in Slovakia.

On Tuesday [5 January], Jezik said that together with part of his editorial office, he is ready to publish a new daily with a new name.

### Says Newspaper Chief Dismissal Lawful

*LD1001205993 Prague CTK in English 2047 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 10 (CTK)—The Slovak Government respects the freedom of the press and does not deal with such things as dismissing newspapers' editors in chief, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak television today.

He was responding to a wave of criticism following the dismissal on January 4 of the editor in chief of the Slovak daily SMENA Karol Jezik and its director Jozef Weiss by Milan Sedlacek, the chairman of the joint stock company Dennik Smena, which publishes the paper. Economic issues were stated as the reason for the step.

Both Jezik and Weiss said their dismissal was unlawful. SMENA editors said that the board of directors of the Dennik Smena joint stock company was entered in the trade register only January 5, one day after the decision to dismiss Jezik and Weiss. Moreover, the dismissal was to take effect retroactively as of January 3.

Meciar said today that he has obtained documents proving the lawfulness of the dismissal of both Jezik and Weiss, and added that economic shortcomings in the daily have been confirmed.

## Defense Spokesman on Arms Deal With Russia

*LD1101144393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Interview with Defense Ministry spokesman Lajos Erdelyi by Krisztina Antalffy; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Last week several newspapers wrote that Russia will partly pay off the former Soviet debt of $800 million by delivering military equipment—not only parts, but MiG-29 planes as well. Specifically, they say that such combat aircraft will be supplied to Hungary. The papers are now saying that even complete weapons systems will be delivered. Is this a change from the original idea? Krisztina Antalffy asked Defense Ministry spokesman Lajos Erdelyi to comment.

[Erdelyi] It was said earlier, too, that in return for the debt of $800 million Russia will deliver military equipment. This includes parts as well as some instruments. As to your question about what specific instruments are involved, the ministry has not yet said anything and does not wish to say anything, because the talks are in the initial stages. There have been talks between experts; one round has taken place so far, and they will continue in the near future. This is not a question of us building up our armaments. The point is simply that we have to maintain the level of our military equipment, which is in a rather poor state.

[Antalffy] Certain newspapers even seem to know that we, for instance, will buy 26 advanced MiG-29 fighter planes.

[Erdelyi] I think this is just guessing, referring to well-informed sources. I can only repeat that the talks are not in a phase that we can talk about facts here.

[Antalffy] So it is not that you do not want to speak, but you cannot speak as yet?

[Erdelyi] On the one hand we cannot speak, and on the other hand it would be irresponsible. At least as irresponsible as publishing these figures and details.

[Antalffy] How will it affect this year's Defense Ministry budget if this equipment worth $800 million arrives in the country? Parliament has already determined this budget.

[Erdelyi] This sum is not yet in the budget, nor could it be. It has to be made clear that we are not talking about money, but about trade debt. On the other hand, it is far from certain that it will be realized or fully realized in 1993. In addition, if it has an effect on the budget, the government or the ministry will act according to the laws that apply here.

[Antalffy] There are also reports that arms are being bought not just from Russia but from Sweden and other countries, too.

[Erdelyi] These news reports almost fall into the same category as the previous accurate figures and types. It is simply information gathering. We are not talking with the Swedes or the Americans about arms purchases. We are talking simply about two things, on the one hand the German parts supply, and on the other the possibilities of obtaining Russian military equipment. These two things are definite. Everything else is speculation.

## Portuguese Justice Minister Makes Official Visit

*LD1101185993 Budapest MTI in English 1831 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—Legal conditions for privatisation and the move to a market economy were discussed in Budapest on Monday [11 January] by Hungarian and Portuguese delegations led by Portuguese Minister of Justice Alvaro Laborinho Lucio and his Hungarian counterpart Istvan Balsai.

The Portuguese minister arrived for an official four-day visit to Hungary on Sunday evening. Laborinho Lucio spoke with recognition about the efforts which the Hungarian Ministry of Justice has made since the political changes to reform Hungary's system of political and economic institutions.

The Portuguese delegation was received by the president of the Constitutional Court, Dr. Laszlo Solyom, the president of the Supreme Court Dr. Pal Solt, and the chief public prosecutor, Dr. Kalman Gyorgyi.

## Council of Europe Monitoring Ties With Slovakia

*LD1101121293 Budapest MTI in English 1156 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratislava, January 11 (MTI)—The Council of Europe keeps a close eye on relations between Slovakia and Hungary, said the head of Slovakia's Strasbourg mission Eva Mitrova on Slovak radio on Sunday [10 January] evening. She quoted influential Council of Europe officials as saying "The Council wishes to provide a wide scope for ironing out differences between the two countries." Mitrova said that highly promising meetings were being held between the Hungarian and Slovak missions in Strasbourg. However she said, "It's all the more disturbing that the delegations from Slovakia's Hungarian parties and movements have not found a way to contact us during their unofficial trips to Strasbourg so far. This has been so in spite of the fact that we represent every Slovak citizen regardless of nationality and are fully aware of our responsibilities in this respect."

## Jeszenszky Meets Greek Foreign Minister

*AU1101134793 Budapest MTI in English 1647 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Budapest, 8 January (MTI)—Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Viryinia Tsoudherou, arrived in Hungary on Friday [8 January] for a one-day visit. Hungarian

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky received her. Discussing the aim of her visit, and her meeting with Jeszenszky, Tsoudherou said she brought a message from Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis to the Hungarian foreign minister.

The message discusses the situation in the Balkans, and the "Skopje problem," concerning the former Yugoslav republic (Macedonia) requesting membership of the United Nations.

As regards the latter, Greece would like Hungary, as a member of the UN Security Council, to get to know the circumstances of the problem in some detail.

The Greek view is that Macedonia has the right to be an independent state, inasmuch as its people so decide. At the same time, in the interest of the region's peace and security, Greece hopes that the international community will recognise the republic's independence subject to certain conditions. In this context, the foreign minister recalled that recognition in itself does not guarantee stability. As an example, she mentioned Bosnia: The republic was recognised too early on, and without any conditions, as a result of which it "exploded."

Among the conditions set for Macedonia, Tsoudherou stressed the need to intensify democracy and ensure the rights of ethnic groups living there. When Macedonian President Gligorov fulfils these conditions, he can count on recognition from the international community.

Viryinia Tsoudherou said she was happy to find that the Hungarian foreign minister also shares these views with the European Community.

There were possible similarities between these problems and the problems of Vojvodina which directly affect Hungary.

In answer to an MTI question, Jeszenszky said he would examine the Greek prime minister's message. One of the basic principles of Hungarian diplomacy is that, where justified, it shapes its foreign policy in concert with the European Community. In most cases, this is appropriate, and Budapest thinks it appropriate for recognising Macedonia and its acceptance to the UN.

The Greek position is not really the well-known public version. Athens does not completely oppose Macedonia's recognition and it is not just the name of the republic that causes problems. Greece considers certain conditions necessary for recognition. One of the most important of these is to guarantee minority rights as Macedonia is a multiracial state.

According to the Hungarian foreign minister, the conditions are, on the whole, ones that can be, and should be, met.

## Antall Lauds HDF-Led Social, Economic Progress

*LD1001181593 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) should always give priority to the interests of the Hungarian people and its policy should always be motivated by the Hungarian national idea, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, chairman of the strongest party of the governing coalition, said at the second national meeting of the party's populist-nationalist circles in Budapest. Formed in November 1990, the circles held their first national meeting at Godollo, a town near Budapest, in June 1991.

Since the HDF's electoral victory in 1990, Hungary has made bigger progress in social and economic transformation than the other new democracies, Antall said. He mentioned as an example that Hungary was the first to propose the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and the COMECON [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance]. Hungary has now become an independent European state. Its transformation is directed by a cabinet which does not include any member of the former Communist Party. This is the only cabinet which did not form a coalition with either the ruling party or the experts of the previous regime, and managed to remain in power since its election, the prime minister said.

Antall said the governing coalition would need at least two parliamentary cycles to create stable foundations. The national centre should therefore govern the country in at least another electoral cycle, he said.

Antall termed the anxieties voiced on Saturday [9 January] with regard to the role of foreign capital in Hungary as exaggerated. "At present, foreign capital has a proportion of merely 8 per cent in the Hungarian economy, and the country lacks sufficient resources. However, in the course of privatization it should be kept in mind that the proportion of foreign property should not exceed 35-40 per cent," Antall said.

## Opposition Wants To Meet Goncz on Media Law

*LD1101193693 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—Leaders from the three opposition parties requested a special meeting with President Arpad Goncz on Monday [11 January] to discuss the continuing row over alleged anti-government bias in Hungarian broadcasting, says a communique issued by the Presidential Office's Press Office. The three opposition leaders, Ivan Peto of the Free Democrats, Gyula Horn of the Socialists, and Janos Ader from the Young Democrats, set forth their views on the situation following the fall of the media law and the resignation of the media presidents. They said their parties continue to hope for a legislative settlement of the public service media affair, and are ready to work for this with further initiatives.

President Goncz has invited senior representatives of the coalition parties for a similar discussion.

Hungarian Parliament did not approve the media law on December 30, 1992, in spite of more than two years of coordination between the government coalition and the opposition parties. Following this, the presidents of Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television, Csaba Gombar and Elemer Hankiss, submitted their resignations. They were originally appointed by President Goncz at the end of 1990, on the proposal of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, and with the consensus of the government coalition and the opposition. Since then, the prime minister had, on several occasions, asked President Goncz to relieve the leaders of the two public service media as, in his view, they were not ensuring unbiased broadcasting. President Goncz refused to relieve the presidents.

As there is no media law, the scopes of authority of the president and the prime minister are unclear in this matter. The Constitutional Court judgement was interpreted by both the president and the prime minister as confirmation of their own positions. The president could refuse the prime minister's motion to relieve the presidents if that would, in his view, have endangered democracy.

## Spokesman on Radio, TV Budgets, Army Personnel

*AU1101131893 Budapest MTI in English 1825 GMT 7 Jan 93*

[Text] Budapest, 7 Jan (MTI)—The government continues to firmly represent and assert the freedom of expression and the press. Accordingly, it states that the placing of the budgets of Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television under cabinet control in no way affects the independence of newswriting and editorial work, government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz told reporters on Thursday [7 January], outlining the communique from the Prime Minister's Press Office.

Unlike before, from 1993 on, Hungarian Television and Hungarian Radio will receive budget contributions via the cabinet, which will thus supervise the use of budgetary funds, in accordance with the prevailing practice followed in other areas in Hungary. For instance, universities get their budget contributions through the appropriate ministry.

During its Thursday session, the government noted with regret that, despite all efforts by the ruling coalition, the media bill, designed to ensure unbiased public service broadcasting free from political influence, had not been accepted because of the obstructive attitude of the opposition.

Parliament rejected the media law on December 31, following two years of abortive coordination talks between the ruling coalition and the opposition. Radio and TV chiefs Csaba Gombar and Elemer Hankiss on Wednesday [6 January] resigned quoting precisely the lack of the media law and the putting of budget subsidy under the cabinet's control.

The communique says, "Acceptance of the notices, which is the right of the president of the Republic, may pave the way for authentic and matter-of-fact information and a perfect fulfillment of the tasks of public service radio and television broadcasting, desired by society for a long time."

The government on Thursday also discussed questions related to the personal staff of the Hungarian Army. Army Commander Colonel-General Kalman Lorincz reported at the briefing that as a result of the changes started two years ago, the Army had been transformed in size, organization and regional location so as to suit defence requirements. (numbers fell from 155,000 in late 1989 to 100,000 by the end of 1992)

Lorincz termed as particularly alarming the position of young officers who leave the Army in great numbers because of low salaries, leaving behind a grave shortage of strength. The commander said that more and more regular soldiers were joining the service with severe livelihood problems. At present, 40 percent of young people of military age cannot be called up for various reasons, such as poor health, social-welfare difficulties, study or implication in criminal proceedings, he added.

## Suchocka Departs for Cooperation Talks in Ukraine

*LD1201095093 Warsaw PAP in English 0829 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 12—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka left for a two-day working visit to Ukraine Tuesday [12 January] morning. During her stay, Ms. Suchocka will meet with Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, chairman of the Supreme Council Ivan Plushch and with leaders of Ukrainian political parties. The sides are expected to discuss bilateral economic cooperation and sign agreements regulating economic relations and trade between the two countries.

## Deputy Prime Minister Meets Ethnic Lithuanians

*LD1101212193 Warsaw PAP in English 2108 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 11—Deputy Prime Minister Pawel Laczkowski met with a delegation of ethnic Lithuanians living in Poland on Monday [11 January] as part of a series of meetings he has held with various ethnic minorities living in this country recently. The meeting, like Laczkowski's previous meetings with Gypsies and Ukrainians, are held to provide the government with first-hand information about these communities' problems. "We want Poland to enjoy a reputation of a good homeland of all nationals living here," Laczkowski said.

Deputy Minister of Culture Michal Jagiello said that subsidies to Lithuanian newspapers and other forms of support would be continued despite financial shortage.

President of the Lithuanian Union in Poland Eugeniusz Pietruszkiewicz said that the meeting also discussed the possibility of introducing Lithuanian as the language officially used in offices at the areas inhabited by Lithuanians. The Lithuanian community in Poland is about 22-25 thousand, most of them living in the north-eastern corner where the largest centres are the town of Punsk, Sejny, and Szypliszki.

## Frontier Service Rejects Criticism of Visa Policy

*LD1101190493 Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 11—Poland's Frontier Guard Service on Monday [11 January] rejected a claim published in the Cairo daily "EL AHRAM" that its officers are conducting a "restrictive" visa policy towards Egyptian and other Arab visitors.

Jaroslaw Zukowicz, press officer at the headquarters of the Polish Frontier Service, said that Poland applies a consistent policy towards all visitors. According to Zukowicz, foreigners frequently attempt to gain entry to Poland on the basis of a false visa declaration, for example by claiming business interests. "It often becomes clear at the border that the foreign visitor has very little money, does not know the language, cannot even give the name of the firm he intends to meet," said Zukowski. "In such cases, in accordance with our authority, we do not allow the visitor into Poland."

Rejecting the clear implication of "EL AHRAM" that Polish visa policy was directed against Arabs in particular, Zukowski noted that Poland's biggest problems were caused by citizens of other countries. "We welcome all foreigners to Poland, but those who try to defraud us are not allowed to enter the country, irrespective of citizenship or nationality," he said.

## Interior Minister Favors Visas for CIS Citizens

*LD1101181893 Warsaw PAP in English 1749 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Krakow, Jan. 11—The Interior Ministry comes out for introducing visas and invitations for citizens of the former Soviet Union (excluding Baltic states) as well as for citizens of Bulgaria, new Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Hercegovina, Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski said during a press conference in Krakow on Monday [11 January]. According to the minister, one of the most important causes for such a decision by the Interior Ministry is a considerable participation of citizens of these states in the overall number of murders and armed robberies committed in Poland. Milczanowski said also that in 1992 the detectability of economic offences grew by 10 per cent over 1991.

## Firm Accused of Smuggling Airplanes From CIS

*LD1101173093 Warsaw PAP in English 1705 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 11—A Polish company has been smuggling aeroplanes from the Commonwealth of Independent States, according to the press spokeswoman for the Main Customs Office Krystyna Urbanska. She would not name the company because an investigation was in progress. She did say that the markings on the aeroplanes were changed after they had been brought into the country. Apart from the "Turbolyot" which was found on Saturday [9 January] (valued at around half a million dollars), 6 other smuggled planes and 4 helicopters have also been discovered.

## Commission Assesses Cooperation With Italy

*LD1101162293 Warsaw PAP in English 1558 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, January 11—The Polish-Italian mixed commission for economic, industrial and scientific cooperation on Monday [11 January] ended its session held to evaluate the state of mutual economic relations and discuss further business cooperation opportunities. It was agreed that due to the development of bilateral relations, the commission would become a really hard-working group, Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Arendarski told a press conference.

Head of the Italian delegation, Minister of Foreign Trade Claudio Vitalone expressed his country's readiness for a debt-for-nature protection swap and confirmed that Italy would soon take a decision on the ratification of an accord on Poland's association with the European communities.

Italy is Poland's fourth highly developed economic and trading partner. In 1992 the two countries' trade amounted to 2 bln [billion] dollars on the balance of payments and Poland recorded a 200 m [million] dollar trade deficit with Italy. Products of the electro-engineering industry related to cooperation with the automotive industry account for a high level of Polish imports. This cooperation and the liberalisation of trade will be likely to help increase exports of these products to Italy in 1993.

Poland and Italy are also interested in launching small-scale projects in the food-processing industry. "Italy wants to cooperate with us, but much depends on our enterprise and competitiveness," Arendarski said.

## Scientists Discuss Environmental Protection Program

*LD1101175093 Warsaw PAP in English 1737 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Lublin, Jan. 11—Wojciech Jaworski of the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry on Monday [11 January] said that his ministry plans to earmark considerable sum of money to limit industrial emission of sulphur dioxide. Addressing a conference on the protection of the natural environment, Jaworski said that the ministry plans to spend as much as 12 trillion zlotys (790 million U.S. dollars) for the desulphurization of coal during the next four years.

Professor Lucjan Pawlowski speaking to participants in the conference that Poland is able to significantly contribute to solving global environment protection problems, including the greenhouse effect. However, Pawlowski stressed that Poland should focus on its own problems in this respect "as we are among the inglorious group of European states suffering from severe environment pollution."

Organizers expressed hope that the conference will produce a report on the state of the natural environment protection in Poland.

## Stocznia Gdanska Shipyard To Be Privatized

*LD1101225093 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 11—The government on Monday [11 January] accepted a proposal put forward by a delegation of the strike committee of the Gdansk "Stocznia Polnocna" to transform the shipyard into State Treasury owned stock company by the end of February. The Cabinet decision to this effect is expected to be made till February 15. [as received] This transformation will make it easier for the shipyard to come to terms with its creditors and shipowners, shipyard director Michal Walenkiewicz told PAP. The Monday government decision followed a meeting of the government representatives with the shipyard strike committee delegation who along with members of the Solidarity Trade Union came to Warsaw to acquaint the Ministry of Trade and Industry with their demands which included the shipyard transformation, payments for three ships delivered to the former Soviet Union under an intergovernmental agreement, and definition of the government policy towards the shipbuilding industry.

## Cabinet Head Denies Security Service Collaboration

*LD1101162793 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] Mieczyslaw Wachowski, head of the president's cabinet, has stated today that he had not been a member or a collaborator of the Polish People's Republic Special Service. Such an accusation was addressed to the minister by Jaroslaw Kaczynski in his book *Lewy Czerwcowy*, which had been published recently. In his opinion, Mieczyslaw Wachowski completed a course for Security Service officers held between 21 January and 2 August 1975. [passage omitted]

[Begin Drzycimski recording] The facts, however, prove that at the time when Wachowski was allegedely being trained at the special Ministry of Internal Affairs courses he was simply working for the Gdansk paint and varnish factory, where he was responsible for investment supplies. I shall add here that even for a relatively inexperienced journalist these facts are so easy to check that it is quite strange that this has not been done yet.

When, however, a politician tries to attract the attention of the public against this background, this proves only his extreme smallness and the lack of ability to hold any responsible public or political post. This is my comment on this very sad matter, which should not have emerged at all, nor attracted any public attention. [end recording]

Mieczyslaw Wachowski in a letter to the minister of internal affairs has written today: In connection with information which has been disseminated among the general public about my alleged officer course at the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Academy, I kindly request that you undertake actions aimed at unequivocal and final clarification of this issue. Wachowski has stated that he had never taken part in any courses organized by the Civic Militia or Security Service and that he had never been an officer or collaborator of the Security Service Special Service.

## Mobilization Scare Investigation Near Completion

*LD1101185093 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 11—The investigation into allegations that Interior Ministry troops in Warsaw were placed on a state of combat readiness on the very day the Olszewski government fell in June 1992 will be completed most likely by the beginning of February, Col. Przemyslaw Tomaszewski of Poland's Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office announced on Monday [11 January].

It was alleged at the time that a mobilisation order, signed by Piotr Naimski, then head of the Polish State Protection Office (UOP), was issued on June 4 to the Warsaw Military Units (NJW) of the Interior Ministry, on behalf of the then Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz.

According to Col. Tomaszewski, the 6-month investigation has revealed many inconsistencies surrounding the operations of NJW, including the fact that a copy of the secret coded message on the subject was shown by one officer to unauthorised persons, and later leaked to the leftist opposition weekly "NIE." Col. Tomaszewski added that the investigation was not helped by the fact that several witnesses "presented one version of the events of June 4 to the press, and a different one to the Prosecutors' Office." Also, the failure of former Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz to come forward as a witness "did not make things easy."

## Union of Labor Criticizes Government Policy

*LD1001224993 Warsaw PAP in English 2217 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 10—The provisional National Council of the Union of Labour (UP), during its Sunday [10 January] meeting, criticized the government for its economic and social policy.

As far as the economic policy was concerned, the council demanded the implementation of changes in the state tax policy and announced that adequate legislative initiatives to this effect would be forwarded by UP deputies.

The council considered as necessary to substitute the excess wage tax (the so called "popiwek") with a more "lenient" remuneration tax, the dividend with a low-rate property tax and to change taxes collected from single parents. It also opted for establishing a system of tax reductions for investments and for introduction of a stricter system of tax evasion control.

The UP council blamed the cabinet for "advocating ideological privatization, discriminating state enterprises and burdening the poorest social strata with costs of reforms while protecting the interest of the affluent and political elites." The council also adopted a resolution which says that settlements concerning antiabortion law as well as the law on radio and television have threatened Poland with being transformed into a religious state.

Commenting on a motion tabled by the Democratic-Left Alliance (SLD) and concerning the recalling of the Sejm Presidium, Chairman of the Union of Labour Deputy Ryszard Bugaj told newsmen the UP shared the SLD reservations about the Sejm Presidium lack of competence and knowledge of the Sejm regulations but that it would wait with tabling its own motion on recalling four of the presidium members until it is clear that the motion could be passed.

## Copper Workers TU Demands Wage Indexation

*LD1101165293 Warsaw PAP in English 1639 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Legnica, Jan. 11—The Trade Union of Copper Workers (ZZPPM) wants Poland's copper combine "Polska Miedz" S.A. to make wage indexation to inflation part of the combine's wages policy.

The union is also demanding that the combine pay the end of year bonus in January based on the average pay for the last three months of 1992 and that the agreement ending last year's strike be honoured as far as the holiday payment is concerned. This would mean that the equivalent of the cost of 14 days at a specified holiday centre would be paid. If the demands are not met the union says it will enter into the collective dispute procedure. The ZZPPM is supported in its demands by the Union of Free Trade Unions at the combine which organised the inter-factory inter-union strike committee during last year's strike. Press spokesman for the combine Jerzy Pietraszek said that a reply to the trade union's letter was being prepared and that it would be sent by January 20.

## Minister Says Budget Deficit Less Than Expected

*LD1101200093 Warsaw PAP in English 1947 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 11—The budget deficit for 1992 will now be lower by an estimated 12.5 trillion zlotys (some 780 million U.S. dollars), Deputy Finance Minister Wojciech Misiag said on Monday [11 January]. The deficit will now run to some 69.3 trillion zlotys (about 4.33 billion U.S. dollars).

The deficit is smaller because the State Treasury obtained less money from commercial banks than it had planned. The missing 12.5 trillion zlotys were in part covered by 5.3 trillion zlotys extra income which had reached the Treasury during the year. This left 7.2 trillion zlotys out of which 4.4 trillion was saved from areas which would not use all the funds allocated to them. The biggest saving was 2.6 trillion zlotys from the State Insurance Agency (ZUS).

There was less demand than expected for State Treasury bonds and the treasury debt to the National Bank of Poland (NBP) rose by 42 trillion zlotys as foreseen by the budget amendment. Misiag estimated that the budget miscalculation had been roughly equivalent to two days' treasury expenditure. In 1992 the treasury spent daily the average of 1.5 trillion zlotys.

### Groups Warn Against UN Intervention in Bosnia

*AU0801184293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1742 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/1/1993—In connection with the developments in the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Alliance for Peace and the Ecologist Movement of Romania, issued a statement assessing that this augments the risk of a chain reaction in the Balkans.

The threats with armed intervention against one of the sides involved in the conflict, even if carried out under UN aegis, worsens the situation even more, pushing things towards the irreversible course of global war, which means generalised ecological disaster. Any military intervention, far from solving the conflict, can only sharpen it and spread it over the entire zone, the statement writes.

An ample military operation close to Romanian frontiers could generate serious dangers for this country's security and would bring new and unredeemable damage to the vital interests of the Romanian people, which has already suffered enough material hardships because of this conflict, the document winds up.

### France Will Not Exceed UN Framework in Bosnia

*AU1201100493 Paris AFP in English 0955 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 12 (AGP)—France will not exceed the bounds defined by the United Nations to enforce UN resolutions on the Yugoslav conflict, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said here Tuesday [12 January].

He spoke after his statement Sunday night that France was prepared to liberate Serbian detention camps by unilateral military action if necessary stirred comment both at home and abroad. "There are UN resolutions. We are working within a very restrictive framework and France will not go outside this," said Dumas, who is on official visit in Romania. "These resolutions must be executed, in the framework that was chosen—that of the United Nations," he said.

UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Monday [11 January] reacted to Dumas' Sunday night comment by reminding France to work within the UN framework.

Dumas said he was not working on the assumpiton that the Geneva conference on Yugoslavia would fail. But should it fail, it would "constitute a serious element in the current context." He insisted that "both diplomatic negotiations and pressure by the international community" must continue.

French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe said Monday that Paris would not take unilateral action outside the United Nations and that Dumas' pledge Sunday night had been subject to an "error of interpretation."

Simone Veil, former president of the European parliament and a lobbyist for Bosnian woman subjected to systematic rape, said Tuesday she supported any mission by French Health and Humanitarian Action Minister Bernard Kouchner to Bosnia-Hercegovina to try to free prisoners in Bosnian camps.

Kouchner said Sunday he would "very quickly" propose a plan to free prisoners in the camps.

"Diplomatic pressure must continue" on the Serbs, said Veil, so "we can know what is happening and so we can stop these atrocities."

### Melescanu Outlines Significance of Dumas Visit

*AU1201084793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1409 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/1/1993—In an interview with the Romanian radio, Teodor Melescanu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, considered that the two-day visit his French counterpart, Roland Dumas, is to pay to Bucharest had a "dual, an economic and a political significance."

"On the economic plane," the Romanian minister said, "the meeting of the joint Romanian-French commission will review the substantial business agreed upon between the two countries and the deals to be made in the future." He stressed that "France plays an important role in the Romanian economic life" and referred to Airbus planes, French wheat imports, and cooperation in telecommunications, transport, information science, and so on.

Referring to the political aspect of the visit, Teodor Melescanu pointed out that "the Romanian-French relations have been fine" and expressed "Romania's wish to get further French support in its integration into western European structures." In that respect, he mentioned France's support to the ratification of the accord between Romania and the common [economic] market and to Romania's admittance as a full member of the Council of Europe.

#### Greets Dumas Upon Arrival

*AU1201093193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/1/1993—The evolution lately of the relations between Romania and France, appreciated as positive by the Romanian officials, and the modalities to increase the contribution of the two governments to the stimulation of bilateral cooperation will be at the center of the talks between French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas—who arrived Monday, January 11 in Bucharest—and various Romanian officials.

On the Bucharest Otopeni International Airport the French guest was met by Minister of State and Foreign Minister of Romania Teodor Melescanu.

Messrs. Teodor Melescanu and Roland Dumas, chairmen of the Joint Romanian-French Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, will sign on the same day the protocol of that commission's 16th session, which took place these days in Bucharest.

The French minister's first day agenda includes calls on Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu and president Ion Iliescu.

In the evening Minister Teodor Melescanu will offer an official dinner in the honor of the foreign minister of the Republic of France.

### Ministers Sign Cooperation Protocol

*AU1201105493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1927 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/1/1993—Monday, January 11, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu and French Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas signed the protocol of the 16th session of the joint Romanian-French intergovernmental commission for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. The ceremony was preceded by a meeting between the chiefs of the two countries' diplomacies.

Pointing out that his visit to Bucharest was a token of the importance attached by France to the development of economic relations with Romania, Minister Roland Dumas told the press that the proceedings of the commission and the excellent personal contacts he had had in Romania were a guarantee that openness in the two states' relationship was going to have a long-lasting trajectory.

The conclusion of important contracts lately in fields essential for a country's development like: telecommunications, air transport, and heavy industry, perfectly illustrates the boom of the French-Romanian relations.

In that context the French guest pointed out the important place of the French investments in Romania as well as the help granted by France within the G-24 loan for assistance and training programs for Romanian specialists in important fields of the economy.

On the same occasion Teodor Melescanu said: "I should like to underscore the political dimension of the Romanian-French cooperation, which must—in my opinion—favor economic and cultural cooperation between our countries. The coming into force of the treaty of agricultural agreement and cooperation between Romania and France (in October 1992—editor's note) as well as the frequent contacts, including summits between the presidents of the two republics, Francois Mitterand and Ion Iliescu, gave the necessary impulse to the Romanian-French relations so they were able to find the intensity and quality of exceptional links established throughout history."

Pointing out that one could now speak of a new stage of the institutionalized relations between the two countries, Teodor Melescanu assured that the Romanian government was ready to keep strengthening cooperation with France in all fields of mutual interest.

The fact that France is one of the main investors in Romania, with 320 million francs, as well as the French governmental credits, which have reached 3.2 billion francs, are clear indications of France's attachment towards Romania, said the Romanian foreign minister.

On Monday, 11 January, in the evening, Minister of State Roland Dumas, Foreign Minister of France, was received by Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu.

In a short address the Romanian premier showed inter alia that Romania was determined to continue the reform process with special stress on privatization as the only way to overcome the current crisis. Speaking about the help France granted Romania with the transformation of its institutions, with the democratization of all sectors, Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu expressed his hope that the cooperation relations between the two countries would increasingly develop.

In his turn the French guest made a short survey of the bilateral relations, assessing that over the three years that have passed since the December 1989 events, Romania and France had established relations of mutual trust. Mr. Dumas underscored the fact that on a European plane France would continue to support Romania. At the end of his address the French minister assured that France's policy regarding Romania would remain unchanged in future.

### Situation 'Critical' for Heating, Water Supplies

*AU0801203593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES.8/1/1993—Friday, January 8, the executive held a meeting in the presence of President Ion Iliescu, to analyse the current situation and the prospects for power, heat, and drinking water supply to the population.

President Iliescu told the press after the meeting that the water supply had worsened so much as the condition of hydrographic basins was not adequate, that megaloworks had been preferred by the communist regime instead of works to improve the condition of hydrographic basins. President Ion Iliescu mentioned that water was being wasted through the old pipeline network, but also due to negligence. He added that according to data from Bucharest Mayor Hall, the water consumption per capita is three times higher in Bucharest than in Paris.

As for heat and power, President Iliescu showed that the situation was better this year.

Solutions have already been offered as far as power is concerned, but the situation continues to be critical as for heat and water supply, said Premier Vacaroiu. A heat supply programme for 1993 and the years to come is going to be elaborated, for the finalisation of a number of works, including solutions to certain issues concerning a number of localities whose main source of heat is represented by thermic stations operating on industrial platforms.

The prime minister showed that the water supply was a still more difficult issue, worsened by a-few-year drought. Solutions are in view for the next two or three months and an investment programme for 1993, but it will not be easy to find the necessary money.

## Cabinet Seeks Solutions

*AU0801190093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1525 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/1/1993—The Romanian Government has met at Victoria Palace, in the presence of President Ion Iliescu to analyze the problems regarding power, heating, and drinking water supply.

Decisionmakers in the Ministry of the Economy, the Ministry of Waters, Forests, and Environmental Protection, prefectures, town councils, and public corporations have been invited.

Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu opened the meeting by saying that a global analysis has been intended of the population's supply with power, heating, and drinking water. As far as the last is concerned, the prime minister mentioned that an investment program was necessary, starting from a number of priorities that are to be established.

## CDR Asks Government To Apply Emergency Program

*AU1001193093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1739 GMT 10 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/1/1993—The Council of the Democratic Convention (CDR), the strongest opposition alliance, asks the current government:

To apply coherently an concretely an emergency programme drawn up by CDR and presented before the nation last summer.

To make public the first ten bills it intends to forward to Parliament. If they do not include the bill on national defence, the cadastre bill, the agricultural credit bill, and the bill on the protection of the environment, to give a public explanation why these urgent bills, elaborated by the previous administration, will not be submitted shortly to Parliament.

To ask, in its turn, the president of Romania, to publicly recognised to have libeled CDR as far as the granting of the most-favored-nation status is concerned, by having made partial use and even having deformed documents of the U.S. Congress.

To explain to the public opinion why it collaborates without reserves and scruples with extremist parties, after having repeatedly denounced the antidemocratic and antistatal character of "fascist elements."

## Creation of New Justice Departments Announced

*AU1201093093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/1/1993—Justice Minister Petre Ninosu presented the press conference of Monday, 11 January, the ministry's new functional scheme, adopted by government ordinance, meant to give this institution more efficiency and flexibility and free it from redundancies. Three departments have thus been set up under the direct coordination of the minister of justice: [the departments of] legislation, surveys, and international relations; courts, notaries public, and organization; execution of jail terms.

Concluding, minister Ninosu informed that the ministry had prepared a bill, already discussed at government level and submitted to Parliament, for reparations to magistrates removed from the justice system for political reasons over 1946-50. The bill stipulates a 4,000 lei tax-free monthly allowance for them.

## CDR Leader Criticizes Decentralization Bills

*AU0801162393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0908 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/1/1993—"The opposition has deliberately not shown in the forefront of political life after elections" told daily MERIDIAN Emil Constantinescu, Chairman of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] (an alliance of opposition political parties and groupings.)

"It has not accepted to join in the race of answers to the violent attacks by the communist and neo-fascist extremists and has also tried to keep the needed calm through its influence," Emil Constantinescu said. "We have allowed thus the government to apply unhampered the crisis plan it has announced. So, one cannot say that the opposition has prevented it from doing something."

Emil Constantinescu added that "the opposition has spent this period of time to prepare a package of laws, which it will advance, starting February 1993, to the Parliament, and which regard absolutely necessary changes for the achievement of economic and administrative decentralization, allowing for efficient actions at the level of local administration. It is not normal to continue this action from the level of the president and government that should take care of everything."

## Tudor Condemns 'Aggressive Intolerance'

*AU0801162293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/1/1993—Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, president of the Greater Romania Party (PRM), stated at the press conference of January 8 that "our party is deeply grieved to see, at the beginning of 1993, that all attempts at national reconciliation made by the center-left forces find themselves helpless before the aggressive intolerance of the reactionary forces grouped in the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR)." In this context he said that all the evil now in Romania is ascribable both to the Roman-Stolojan governments and to the antinational policy promoted by the "key" (CDR's electoral symbol). He also assessed that, under mass pressure, the "artificial construction of the CDR will collapse this year."

## PNL Wants Stolnici To Run for President

*AU1201090093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1712 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/1/1993—"The Group for Political and Moral Reform in the National Liberal Party (PNL)" organised Monday, January 11, in Bucharest a press conference during which they announced the proposition that Professor Constantin Balaceanu Stolnici run for the office of PNL president.

The speakers set forth the professional and public activity of the candidate as well as his international prestige.

Taking the floor Mr. Balaceanu Stolnici mentioned that he had accepted the proposition as "a possible alternative," meant to contribute in the increase of the PNL's prestige and in the coagulation of the whole liberal movement.

Also set forth during the press conference was the existence of two currents within the PNL: a conservative one and a reformist one. Mr. Balaceanu Stolnici insisted on the necessity to unite the liberal forces as a prerequisite of the whole opposition's efficiency.

The Group for Political and Moral Reform reasserted its intention to contribute in the recovery of the PNL, as a real and ideologically well-defined political force.

## Daily Reviews 1992 Political Scene Trends

*AU1101114093 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Jan 93 p 1*

[Article by David Casar: "The Beginning of a Clarification—Trends Within the Romanian Political Spectrum in 1992"]

[Text] Indeed, 1992 has been marked by a long series of electoral confrontations on the Romanian political scene that have led to a substantially changed political spectrum, compared with 1990. First, the local elections in February, then the general elections in September clearly indicated an accentuated phenomenon of polarization: on the one hand, groupings that do not relish democracy—such as the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], Romania Mare Party [PRM], Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], and Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR]—and, on the other hand, groupings that resemble the parties to be found in the advanced democracies, such as the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], and of late, National Salvation Front [FSN].

Last year, one could notice a certain evolution toward political parties structured on social group interests. Nevertheless, this evolution has been pretty twisted and once more triggered off by individuals. The FDSN was born in the wake of the political parting between President Ion Iliescu and FSN leader Petre Roman. The current government party lacks a clear ideological line. One can say that the FDSN does not represent social democracy, although there are certain such trends within that party. The FDSN is a party, or rather a conglomerate of interests that follows a policy of perestroyka—that is, an attempt by the communist centralized system to adjust to the new realities. Its electoral clientele consists mainly of industrial workers who are afraid of change, and small land owners who prefer agricultural associations—in one word, people are not willing to take a risk.

The PUNR has had its moment of glory during last September's elections. Without a clear ideology, this party, whose electoral basis lies mainly in Transylvania, but also has ramifications in Moldova and Wallachia, finds itself now in an extremely advantageous, and at the same time disadvantageous, position of holding the balance of power in Parliament. Characterized by economic infantilism (with the exception of Senator Viorel Salagean), the PUNR has a circumstantial existence determined by the so-called national problem in Transylvania. Its electorate is extremely diverse, varying from nationalist intellectuals to private entrepreneurs with greater or lesser connections to the former power structures—such as the "Columna" ["Column"] society.

The PRM and PSM represent the "unrecyclable residues" of the communist society. Dissatisfied former party activists or Securitate people who want to turn back the wheel of history at any price—this is the electoral clientele of these two parties. The PDAR suffered a bitter defeat in the September elections, with the great majority of its voters migrating to the FDSN, since they were dissatisfied with the activity of the Ministry of Agriculture, which, in their eyes, was to be blamed for all shortcomings in the implementation of the Land Law and the poor staple supply situation.

The FSN has probably undergone the most spectacular change. Having come out of its government experience with an extremely rumpled coat, Mr. Roman's party became a democratic one. Even though there are still many FSN members who regret the absence of Mr. Ion

Iliescu's protective wing, the new leaders, particularly Adrian Severin and Caius Dragomir, have firmly anchored the party in the opposition. Through the experience acquired during their ruling period, the FSN is also waging the most efficient struggle in Parliament against the governmental majority. The FSN electorate is somewhat more hesitant at times, since it recalls the May 1990 elections. Nevertheless, this electorate is basically prepared to support the sacrifices required by the transition period. Many of them share countless common views with the Convention, but are suspicious of its monarchist trends.

The CDR has registered a great success at the local elections. Then, after the exit of the National Liberal Party [PNL] and the Convention's takeover by the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], the CDR has lost its vigor. Once in Parliament, the veterans of the anticommunist struggle have often reached compromises with the FDSN. From an economic viewpoint, the party, which has increasingly fallen under the influence of economist Mircea Ciumara, has taken a visible turn to the left. The PNTCD is closely followed by its Lilliputian allies—the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR] and the Romanian Ecologist Party [PER], which together form the left wing of the Convention.

The most pragmatic part of the CDR is represented by its right-wing liberal component—namely the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT] and Civic Alliance Party [PAC]. These two groupings are trying to put together a new liberal coalition around them. They may yet succeed, given the fact that the PNL has realized that its only chance of survival is the reunification of the liberal movement. The liberal electorate is the most dynamic one: private entrepreneurs, freelance professionals, highly skilled workers, and well-to-do peasants—in other words, the embryos of the new middle class, people who are not afraid of change and who know that their only chance is in taking risks. A would-be reunified liberal movement, together with the liberal elements of the FSN and UDMR, might constitute the engine of an accelerated transition toward the market economy.

Finally, the UDMR continues to represent the quasi totality of the Hungarian ethnic group, proof of the still strong suspicions persisting between the two sides. The Hungarian population, disciplined and perfectly aware of its own interests, is perhaps the most willing one to undergo the transit to the market economy. Therefore, the dominant trend within the UDMR is undoubtedly liberal. If Romania speedily achieves the transition to the market economy and the living standard goes up, the Hungarians in Romania will cease looking toward Budapest as if it were Mecca because, in the last instance, the community of economic interests is stronger than ethnic ties.

Will 1993 be the year of full delimitations in Romanian policy?

## Iliescu Discusses Economy, Moldova, FRY

*AU1201083693 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jan 93 p 3*

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Viorel os Roman in Bucharest; date not given—"Everybody is Talking About Integration but Europe Doesn't Like us Very Much"]

[Text] [Roman] Three years after the revolution it is time to draw up a balance sheet. Revolutions usually devour their children. Romania seems to be no exception. You have had three different governments in three years. From an economic viewpoint, the postrevolutionary reforms have not yielded any results so far. Only the misery was privatized. Unemployment, inflation, and corruption have increased. Does anybody still believe in reforms?

[Iliescu] We have to believe in them because there is no alternative. Yet let me discuss one point after another. There has been considerable speculation whether a revolution really took place in Romania at Christmas 1989. In my view, it was indeed a revolution. This can be proven by two objective facts. The popular character of the revolution was more evident in Romania than in other East European countries. It was an explosion. It was not just a few thousand young people fighting in the front line. The uprising of the workers in Bucharest's large enterprise was decisive. Hundreds of thousands of workers forced the dictator to flee.

Yet a people's uprising is not enough for a revolution. Some uprisings have caused no social changes at all. The past three years, however, have shown that a revolution took place in 1989 because Romania's entire political and social structures have changed during this period.

[Roman] There is no doubt about that....

[Iliescu] We stepped out of the political vacuum of a dictatorial monopoly system into a social climate in which people can express their views freely. Party pluralism is even being exaggerated—in response to decades of the suppression of political activities. In addition, a state based on the rule of law with democratic and constitutional institutions was created. The 1992 elections were carried out on this basis.

[Roman] Today, however, the Romanians are more interested in an improvement of their living conditions.

[Iliescu] Not only Romania, but all countries in this region show that the transition from a centralist to a market economy is complicated. Both on internal and external factors are decisive here. After December 1989, the centralist power apparatuses of the economy collapsed. Nobody would have been able to prevent that at the time. Both the Central Planning Commission and large economic units disappeared. This led to considerable decentralization—upon pressure from below. Directors were exchanged by the workers, and a trade union movement with anarchical features developed, calling for a redistribution. The governments of this period obeyed the rationalism of the street. There was no alternative. The demands of the workers were justified, and everyday life was unbearable. The national economy was already blocked in 1989, which was tantamount to a bankruptcy of the centrally planned economy.

[Roman] What did people demand, what did they want?

[Iliescu] The improvement of the food supply was certainly the most urgent issue. The first measure after the revolution was a stop of food exports. People also called for a better supply of the households with energy. After the revolution, apartments were heated decently again. The industry was sacrificed to feed the people. Employees received 30 billion lei from the funds of enterprises to which they had contributed in previous years. This was a great effort on the part of the state. In addition, the number of weekly working hours was reduced. Nobody could refuse to fulfill the demands of the workers, despite the fact that our economy was hardly strong enough. Romania has the shortest weekly working hours in Europe—a luxury for a country like ours. Yet this was the way of the revolution.

[Roman] Thus, the collapse of the planned economy was accompanied by a social revolution. What about the transition to the market economy?

[Iliescu] Our big problem is that the centralist control instruments have not been replaced by market-oriented instruments. Private initiatives in an economy that does not have any market-oriented rules prolong the blockade of the national economy. When the workers' claims for decentralization were fulfilled, it soon became obvious that things did not work. People wanted the state to organize energy, raw materials, and the export of goods. This required again centralization.

The second—external—negative factor is the collapse of the CEMA. This immediately had a disastrous effect on Romania.

[Roman] Can you elaborate on that?

[Iliescu] With CEMA, a source of energy and raw materials disappeared. Moreover, we did not find a replacement for the vest Soviet or Russian market. In addition, we lost other important trade partners, including Iraq, the Gulf region, and recently Yugoslavia, as a result of the UN economic boycott. The current world economic crisis makes the presence of Romanian products in western markets even more difficult. Everybody is talking about our integration in the European economy, but Europe does not like us very much. The EC held talks with us from a power position, behaving like a club of the rich. It set certain condition from the very beginning and it stipulated production quotas, in the steel and textile industry, for example, but also in agriculture. This means that we have lost our traditional markets, and the markets toward which we want to orient ourselves do not accept us. Romania is only accepted as a selling market. Thus, a new phenomenon is emerging in Europe: It is true that the ideological and military division has been eliminated but the economic gap threatens to widen increasingly. Europe and the whole world will have to deal with this problem at some point in the future because we are living in a uniform economy, which is constantly and increasingly intertwining. The main problem of the current period is the gap between the rich north and the poor south. The east European countries are now joining the poor south.

[Roman] The theory that democracy automatically leads to prosperity has turned out to be untenable. The results of the economic reforms are disappointing for the people. Romania threatens to be pushed to the periphery of western Europe.

[Iliescu] Yes, exactly. The current crisis brings East Europe to the level of developing countries. The danger of marginalization exists indeed, particularly for Romania. Yet I am optimistic. One must naturally assess in a realistic way the period that is required for our country's adaptation. The current economic problems have not been caused by the reform policy. The crisis that built up under the old system and that broke out in 1989 is to blame. As a matter of fact, the reform is an effort to find a way out of the economic blockade and to open up prospects for the country.

[Roman] Investments are needed for that...

[Iliescu] A great deal is needed. Yet the preconditions exist. We are not starting from scratch. Romania is not Mozambique. Our country has sufficient material and intellectual values, we possess raw materials and human capital. Also, illiteracy was overcome a long time ago in Romania. Before World War II, one-third of the population was not able to read and write. Today our young people have to go through 10 years of schooling. This is an important factor of development.

[Roman] Still, the current economic data by no means justify your optimism.

[Iliescu] It is true that we have poor industrial structures. Particularly during the past 20 years, our development was characterized by primitive values that overemphasized self-sufficiency. This was even turned into an ideology, stressing that Romania can do anything without asking whether things are sensible. In contrast, the division of labor is increasing in the world economy. Romania's industry was and still is energy and raw material intensive. We are worlds away from a modern economy in the spirit of the international division of labor. This represents a barrier for restructuring the economy and is therefore itself a reform goal.

[Roman] What role does privatization play in this respect and how far has it progressed?

[Iliescu] Privatization is first taking place at the fringes of the economy, in retail trade, in the sphere of services, and in small enterprises. As a matter of fact, there is not enough capital to privatize large enterprises. After the war, the Western industrialized nations nationalized their industries, and the 1970's saw a wave of reprivatization. In England, this privatization lasted a decade in some sectors of the economy, despite the fact that the market economy has a long tradition there. Romania's economy, however, is completely controlled by the state. Thus, our privatization will require much more time. We must be realistic. Thus, all demagogic shock-therapy formulas that advocate privatization within two or three years are irrelevant. The only ones who could afford shock therapy were the east Germans. Yet that was only possible because of the integration of the former GDR in a zone dominated by the strong German mark [DM]. Nobody else can afford to transfer DM150 billion per year. Yet this sum rather contributes to solving the social issue in East Germany and not so much to its development. As a matter of fact, social tensions still exist three years after the introduction of monetary union.

[Roman] The former GDR has been integrated into the EC, but not Romania. An integration in the EC seems impossible. The eastern part of Central Europe forms something like an economic area of its own in which Romania has no place. The axis Belgrade-Bucharest-Kiev-Moscow forms the boundary of orthodox Europe. Do you think that three European integration regions will form with different rates of development that will be slower in the East?

[Iliescu] I do not believe that differently structured integration zones will develop. The world economy is generally in a crisis, which has also an impact on relations among the integrated areas in the industrially developed regions. Tensions between the EC and the United States that are becoming apparent in the GATT talks and within the EC, ultimately also influence Romania and its possibilities. In addition, the gap between rich and poor countries also leads to a migration from the east to the west. To work against this crisis scenario, we must try to prevent the conversion of the former political blocs into economic blocs. Interdependent cooperation is required, based on the traditional economic relations that already exist. Thus, it is particularly important to strengthen relations with our neighbors, especially with the Black Sea region and the Middle East.

On the other hand, we will also try to establish links with the Danube-Main-Rhine region, which is also interesting for the United States and Japan, because in this way the EC can be penetrated from the east.

[Roman] Let us talk about a politically explosive issue for Romania. How do you see future relations between the two Romanian states—Romania and Moldova—which want to achieve unification?

[Iliescu] In the long run, this unification process will be a matter of course. Yet every haste would have negative consequences. The problem is that, within the USSR, Moldova belonged to the Russian-Ukrainian economic area. This is still valid today. Romania is not in a position to replace these traditional economic relations overnight. We can only speculate today on how exactly such a unification could be realized. It is not advisable to put forth specific proposals at this point. That would be counterproductive.

[Roman] Romania also borders on Serbia, one of the most critical regions. The formerly privileged and friendly relations with Yugoslavia cannot be developed further because of the UN embargo. What is your view on this issue?

[Iliescu] It is true that Yugoslavia and Serbia were our best neighbors in history, with whom we never had any conflicts. We were always on the same side of the barricades. For this reason, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the beginning of the civil war was painful for us. We believe that the international community of peoples also contributed to this fateful situation by not preventing the collapse of Yugoslavia, which would have been possible. Unrealistic ideas prevented the Yugoslav peoples from finding a peaceful new form of coexistence. The referendum for national independence upset the sensitive balance among the Yugoslav peoples and ultimately led to war. In Bosnia, the lack of consensus among the three ethnic groups is the source of the conflict.

Thus, Romania is strictly against foreign military intervention. Such operations would only exacerbate the conflict. The Serbs have shown obstinacy and national pride in the past, too, which must not be underestimated. In World War II, they fought against the biggest power and they made the biggest sacrifices. They did not tolerate the occupiers. Some major powers who are now arrogantly trying to enforce solutions should be aware of these characteristics. We advocate a political-diplomatic solution to the conflict. Only this will make possible dialogue among the internal forces, who best understand their own problems.

## Dailies View Economy, Iliescu-Coposu Dispute

*AU0801162193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0858 GMT 8 Jan 93*

[From the Romanian press review of 8 January]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/1/1993—Daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI [THE EVENT OF THE DAY] editorializes on the participation of Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu in the economic program of the national television on January 7 evening. The daily reproachfully notes that the prime minister and the editors of the program focused on the state economy although its announced theme was "Big Privatization—1993 Prospects." Referring to Vacaroiu's statement that before privatization the state enterprises must be rendered efficient, the daily points out: "That is why we are passing to 'the market economy, that is why we are privatizing the enterprises, because the state economy has proved inefficient, because the state enterprises do not work well."

ROMANIA LIBERA comments President Ion Iliescu's participation in the same economic program, under the headline "'Realistic-Socialist' Winter." It notes: "While speaking of coherence over and over again, Mr. Iliescu has forgotten about the Constitution. He has forgotten a president should keep equal distance and act as some kind of umpire among the political forces instead of representing a party at Cotroceni [presidential headquarters]. Consequently, sounding as if the campaign for the future elections had already begun, he 'unmasked' the opposition. He was keen on recalling that the opposition did not want to follow in the trail of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] which Mr. Iliescu is so fond of."

The dispute on the evidences produced on the Romanian television by President Iliescu to demonstrate that Corneliu Coposu, Chairman of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNT-CD], worked against the granting of the most-favored-nation status by the U.S. to Romania, is extensively commented on.

Under the signature of Octavian Paler, ROMANIA LIBERA accuses President Ion Iliescu of a "lie." DIMINEATA [daily close to presidential circles] maintains that "Mr. Ion Iliescu does not misinform [mislead] the country." ORA [THE HOUR] comes out with an interview by the current Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] leader Emil Constantinescu who says that the person designated by Corneliu Coposu to present in the United States the observations of the CDR on the electoral law "acted beyond his instructions." The daily writes that the CDR [member party] leaders will ask Mr. Coposu for explanations about the document whose existence they had ignored. ADEVARUL editorializes on the same theme: "The opposition has paid for the excesses of some of its fierce representatives blinded by political passions. However, to point an accusing finger at it indefinitely means to spoil the chance of a national reconciliation. President Iliescu's gesture is incomprehensible in this respect. The discussed problem—the granting of the MFN status—is one of the obsessions of the power." [passage omitted]

## Defense Communique Denies Arms Deals With Serbia

*AU1101155793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] The Romanian Ministry for National Defense has sent us the following communique: Concerning the assertion made by the Bosnian Foreign Minister [Haris Silajdzic] at 1700 on 6 January 1993 during a news conference in Bonn, which was carried by Kossuth Radio, Budapest, according to which Serbia is purchasing weapons from Romania, the Press Bureau of the Armed Forces has been empowered to declare the following:

This news lacks any real substance. No Romanian economic or trading company has been engaged in weapon transactions with any of the states in the conflict zones under the UN embargo. Being interested in the maintenance of its own stability, as well as in the reestablishment of peace in the Balkans, Romania—including the Romanian Armed Forces—has not taken and is not taking any action that could aggravate the existing conflicts and it is strictly observing the measures passed by the UN Security Council.

## Serb General Does 'Not Rule Out' Nuclear Arms

*PM1101152993 Milan PANORAMA in Italian 10 Jan 93 p 117*

[Unattributed interview with Momir Talic, commander of the First Serb Army Corps in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Banja Luka; date not given]

[Text] Banja Luka—General Momir Talic commands the First Serb Army Corps in Bosnia-Hercegovina. PANORAMA met with him in Banja Luka.

[PANORAMA] Are Serb commanders afraid of Western military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Talic] Absolutely not. To date the Serb Army has only used 10 to 15 percent of its firepower. In case of aggression by the Americans and their allies, we will unleash total war. We will die, but we will take thousands of your soldiers with us. And I do not rule out the use of a nuclear weapon as well.

[PANORAMA] In what way?

[Talic] Some bombs could end up on the Krsko atomic power station [in Slovenia]. Can you imagine where the fallout would fall?

[PANORAMA] Has the international community isolated you politically?

[Talic] We still have many good friends who help us and support us.

[PANORAMA] You claim that 15,000 foreign Muslims are fighting in Bosnia. So how come there are no mojahedin among the over 100,000 civilians and military that you have captured?

[Talic] It is simple: They do not allow themselves to be taken alive.

[PANORAMA] The West is preparing to hit your airplanes: Are you not afraid of ending up like Saddam Husayn's Iraq?

[Talic] No. This will be a totally different conflict. Aggression against the Serbs would cause the Balkans to explode and would carry the war into the heart of Europe. We are ready. And you?

## Serb Spokesman Warns France Against Intervention

*LD1101182693 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] The tone is becoming quite sharp between France and the Bosnian Serbs today, the day after the statement by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who said that France was ready to go on its own and liberate prisoner camps in Bosnia by force if need be. The Bosnian Serbs replied that there was no possibility of allowing themselves to be pushed around and threatened to retaliate if that was the case. Listen to the spokesman of Bosnian Serbs, who is in Geneva:

[Begin Mica Milosevic recording] It is very good if Mr. Dumas thinks that our prisoners in the hands of Muslims and Croats in Bosnia must be freed by force. If he plans to put more pressure on our side—which showed the most obvious good will—then this is meaningless and absurd. I cannot imagine French troops entering Serb territory by force once more. We were friends for centuries, and so much friendship throughout history between your people and ours cannot be wasted because of electoral necessity.

I cannot imagine French soldiers using force and firing at our people. If force is used, then there inevitably will be a response from our side. It is not necessary to carry out a liberation by force. We are ready to release all prisoners without exception, on the condition that the other sides do the same. [end recording]

That was Mica Milosevic, the spokesman of Bosnian Serbs.

## Serbs Report French Troops Abandon Checkpoint

*LD1101204593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Drvar, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Several checkpoints on the border between the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina in Croatia, which were controlled by a French battalion of the UN peace force, this morning appeared to have been deserted—SRNA reports quoting its reporter in Drvar.

According to SRNA, French soldiers are thought to have abandoned the check points for fear of a possible escalation in the conflict between the warring sides on the western Krajina theater of war.

## UNHCR To Probe Reports of Mass Rape

*LD1101181293 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1700 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Excerpts] Yet another international agency, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], has added its voice to those demanding answers on the issue of mass rape of women in the former Yugoslavia. Reports of rape being used as a weapon of war by ethnic Serbians against primarily Bosnian Muslims has produced international outrage and demands for action, but gathering information has reportedly proven difficult. I asked UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond whether his agency has any more substantial information on the issue:

[Begin recording] [Redmond] We have the impression that there has been widespread rape. How systematic it is is yet to be determined but, just in our discussions and interviews with refugee women on the ground in Croatia, we are of the opinion that it's definitely something that needs to be looked into. We've got six social workers now, who are setting up a program to try to assess the extent of this rape, and they—we hope—will be coming through with a report in the coming weeks. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] What kinds of action could the UNHCR conceivably take once the situation has been assessed?

[Redmond] Well, what we would like to do is set up a counselling program obviously for many of these women. There would also be the possibility of perhaps evacuating them or taking them on to third countries where they could get better help because many them could be severely traumatized.

There is also, obviously, the concern about children born to rape victims. We're not sure how widespread this is going to be, but I think we've all heard allegations that one of the purposes of this was to make these women pregnant, so that's something else that definitely has to be looked at.

[Reporter] Are you as an agency going to be exercising any political pressure, depending on the outcome of your research?

[Redmond] Well, certainly if it is determined that this has been widespread and that these allegations that camps holding women continue to exist—if it's somehow demonstrated that this is true—we certainly wouldn't be keeping quiet about it. It's the sort of thing the world needs to know about and how much pressure we could submit as an organization I don't know, but it's certainly something the world would deserve to hear about. [end recording]

### Karadzic Says 'Most' Prisoners Released

*LD1101143093 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1200 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by correspondent Jacques Merlino in Geneva on 10 January; Karadzic remarks in English with superimposed French translation; introductory remarks by announcers Sannier and Piquet]

[Text] [Sannier] In France more and more people are calling for a military intervention. Foreign Minister Roland Dumas even said that, if necessary, France is ready to liberate camps where civilians are being held.

[Piquet] The use of force ought to be considered; if need be France will act alone. This is what the foreign minister said last night. He said that he had asked General Morillon, who is in charge of the UN Protection Force in Sarajevo, if this was possible, and the latter reportedly answered that it was. The Bosnian Serb leader in Bosnia reacted sharply. Radovan Karadzic was interviewed by Jacques Merlino in Geneva last night.

[Begin recording] [Karadzic] We Serbs have already freed most of the prisoners we were holding through Daniel Schieffer and the Red Cross. If Dumas wants to free all civilian prisoners he should also act to free Serb prisoners since they were not freed. There is also something unusual in the fact that Dumas spoke to Gen. Morillon. Gen. Morillon is French, but is not a French general; he is under UN command.

[Merlino] What will you do if the use of force is attempted?

[Karadzic] If someone attacks the Serbian people no one knows what will happen. I hope that Dumas' genuine aim is the fate of prisoners and not just the search for publicity.

[Merlino] Would you accept Dr. Kouchner as a mediator?

[Karadzic] No, Dr. Kouchner lost all credibility by being totally anti-Serb. He made many remarks hostile to Serbs, almost racist remarks. So, we prefer to deal with Schieffer rather than with Kouchner. [end recording]

[Sannier] I add, and this is important, that Daniel Schieffer is a young Italian academic who managed to obtain the freedom of prisoners in one of the camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

### Sarajevo Reportedly Under Muslim Attack

*LD1201112593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Last night, and continuing this morning, the Sarajevo battlefield is marked by Muslim artillery and infantry attacks against the Serb Army positions in Ilidza, Ilijas, Hadzici, and Vogosca, where fighting is still in progress, SRNA reports citing a statement of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps information service.

The Ilidza districts of Pejton, Zoranovo, and Doglodi were targeted by Muslim artillery from Mount Igman and from the direction of Hrasnica. [passage omitted]

### Muslims Launch 'Fierce and Sudden Infantry Attack'

*LD1101210893 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Banja Luka—This morning around 0615, Muslim forces launched a fierce and sudden infantry attack on the Suva Medja-Corkovici-(?Bolecani) lines west of Novi Grad, the former Bosanski Novi. This was revealed by the information service of the First Krajina Corps.

There is no detailed information about this clash, but it is known that there are dead and wounded on both sides. Members of the infantry brigade from Novi Grad are investing efforts to consolidate their front lines.

It is indicative that the Muslim forces launched this attack precisely at the moment when borders of future provinces are being discussed in Geneva.

### Patients Reported Killed in Srebrenica Air Raid

*LD1101215493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] The Srebrenica press center has reported that three Serb aircraft have twice bombed Srebrenica and the liberated area of the municipality. Bombs hit the town's health center, killing a doctor and 10 patients. The Srebrenica press center also reported that 40 people died this morning of hunger and cold in Srebrenica and the nearby villages.

### Serbs Rename Towns in Occupied Areas

*LD1101183293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Banja Luka, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—All the inhabited places in Krajina that had the adjective "Bosnian" in their name have now been officially renamed, a SRNA coresspondent reports from Banja Luka.

Hence, Bosanska [Bosnian] Dubica has been changed to Kozarska Dubica, Bosanska Krupa to Krupa na Uni; Bosanski Novi to Novi Grad, Bosanski Petrovac to Petrovac, while Bosanska Gradiska will soon be simply Gradiska. Skender Vakuf has been renamed Knezevo. In many places in Krajina, the names of streets, boulevards, squares, institutions, and enterprises have been changed.

### Serbs Say Elderly Hanged in Bratunac Villages

*LD1101190993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Bratunac, January 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serbs on Sunday [10 January] evening found several Serbs older than 70 hanged in the villages of Kravica, Colakovici and Gornji Bacic on the Bratunac battlefront in the eastern part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Colonel Miladin Prstojevic of the Army of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina told TANJUG on Monday.

On January 7, when Orthodox Christians celebrated Christmas, strong Moslem forces from the near-by town of Srebrenica assisted by mercenaries from Islamic countries burned to the ground those and several other villages in the Bratunac commune, killing women, children and old people. The final number of victims has not yet been established because many villages are under snow blockade.

Last month, Moslem forces massacred over 100 civilians in several Serb villages in the area.

A strong Moslem offensive on the area of Bratunac, launched more than two weeks ago, continued over the week-end and on Monday, TANJUG learned from Serb Army sources in Bratunac.

Serb Army sources in the neighbouring municipality of Zvornik reported strong artillery attacks by Moslem green berets on Serb villages on Sunday night and early hours on Monday which continued throughout the day today.

During the foggy night, Moslems also attempted an infantry attack on the village of Boskovici some ten kilometres west of Zvornik but Serb defenders stopped them without suffering any loss.

### Acute Power Shortage in Banja Luka

*LD1101235793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2257 GMt 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Banja Luka, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Banja Luka city districts and suburbs will have electric power for only four hours every seventh day, the SRNA reported, quoting a statement of the Banja Luka electricity board.

This situation is a consequence of reduced electricity production in the Jajce and Bocac hydropower stations, which deliver only 45 megawatts daily for the entire [Bosnian] Krajina.

The water levels have dropped due to cold weather and low temperatures. Electricity production will be increased only after substantial rainfall.

### Silajdzic Criticizes Vance, Owen Role

*93AE0228A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 29 Dec 92 p 7*

["Exclusive" interview With Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzik, by As'ad Taha in Zagreb on 25 December on the eve of his departure for Geneva peace talks: "Bosnian Foreign Minister Criticizes Vance and Owen Role and European Stance on Serb Massacres of Muslims]

[Text] Before heading to Geneva to lead his country's delegation to complete the peace talks, Dr. Haris Silajdzik, the foreign minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in an exclusive interview with AL-HAYAH on Friday, attacked the role of international mediator Cyrus Vance and European mediator Lord David Owen because of their opposition to the taking of practical steps to end Serbian aggression. He asserted that he did not accept the deployment of international forces along the lines of contact with Serbian forces and revealed that the Bosnian forces' recent military successes were achieved after the delivery of arms purchased "through individual contributions and efforts" and smuggled into his country, which Croatia allowed to happen over its borders.

Silajdzic said: "We will go on with the Geneva talks, despite my pessimism over the outcome as long as Vance and Owen hold to their position of pressuring the victim." He indicated that "from the time the negotiations began, we have not seen the Serb side make one concession. Our cities are still besieged, starving, and experiencing the horrors of winter." He remarked bitterly that "in spite of that, they insist on negotiations, and still more negotiations, to the last Bosnian."

The Bosnian foreign minister told AL-HAYAH that Vance and Owen had a very large role in the Jeddah conference, "but in the negative column, because they were against intervention and against the taking of any practical measure." He said, "Mr. Vance is a believer in negotiations and peaceful solutions, and that is a wonderful thing. But in Bosnia, this is a lethal policy because it cannot stop the enemy, nor does it allow us to defend ourselves.... This is a question of life or death for us and a political principle."

Silajdzic mentioned that Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic agreed to negotiate with the leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic under pressure from Vance and Owen.

When AL-HAYAH asked him whether there were any promises for specific achievements, he answered, "Alas, no. The situation now is the same as it was during the London conference. They have put everything back on the negotiating table."

### No Peace Forces

He denied any intention of accepting the principle of deploying international peacekeeping forces along the lines dividing Serbian and Bosnian forces, asking, "What peace is this that is supposed to be kept? We were very surprised by the report of [UN Secretary General] Butrus-Ghali, that he is against changing the peace bases, as if there was peace in Bosnia they were trying to keep."

He added, "Butrus-Ghali promised during the London conference to send between 50,000 and 100,000 soldiers to Bosnia. Nothing promised has been delivered."

### Military Successes

Commenting upon what AL-HAYAH printed on 23 December about the Bosnian forces' military successes and preparations to break the siege of the capital, Sarajevo, the Bosnian prime minister disclosed that they were "the result of the arms we were able to buy and smuggle into our country, unfortunately, and the efforts and contributions of persons who care about Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Responding to a question about whether these arms came from Islamic or Western sources, he said only that they were "from the market, from contributions, from individuals' efforts. The overwhelming majority are from governments that did not do their duty."

His view was that part of the success of arms making it into Bosnia was due to "the Croatian side, which allowed them over its borders." As to the likelihood of that continuing, he said, "It depends upon the powers and abilities of these individuals."

Despite his praise for the Croatian position, Silajdzic criticized the leader of the Bosnian Croats, Mate Boban, for obstructing measures for a unified position in the Geneva talks, and his adhering to the idea of "Bosnian Hercegovina," the Croatian entity that seeks independence from Bosnia.

He explained that "after the long and comprehensive talks, Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman met with Vance, Owen, and Mate Boban. After they reached an agreement in this matter, Boban went back and denied everything, the same way he denied his abandonment of his secessionist ideas."

The Bosnian foreign minister also expressed his surprise at the widespread interest of the international community in the Serbian elections. He said that they would change nothing, regardless of the outcome, because "everything is controlled by the army."

Addressing the chances of international military intervention, he said, "Perhaps a step has been taken in this regard, and it would be great, but it will come too late."

### Europe's Stance

Silajdzic confirmed that "we want to establish a multicultural and multireligious state, in which Muslims will be content with freedom, nothing more than that. But Europe has a colonialist view and does not want the establishment of a democratic state in Bosnia-Hercegovina because they see democracy as their own monopoly, which no one else deserves."

He said, "I began to be inclined to the idea that we might interpret the massacres of the Muslims in Bosnia as having religious motives," but indicated that "the European position has ideological dimensions. The Serbs, however, have no ideological dimensions, because they have no ideology. They are war criminals dreaming of expansion and colonialism. Their pretext is to preserve the Christianity of Europe to confront Islamic fundamentalism, though circumstances are now absolutely favorable for the spread of every kind of violence and religious and nonreligious extremism in the region."

Of the Islamic world's position, he said that it was excellent at the humanitarian and political levels, "but at the individual level, not at the government level." He said, "We expect the coming period, during the winter, to be harder than before, facing an intense shortage of food and medical supplies, and heating needs."

He concluded the interview by commenting on the current controversy over the crisis of the presidency in Bosnia, saying: "Izetbegovic will remain president of Bosnia-Hercegovina. But, more importantly, the Muslims will remain alive."

## Tuzla Mayor Calls For International Aid

*93BA0410B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 92 p 9*

[Interview with Mayor of Tuzla Selim Beslagic, by correspondent Ivica Nosic, in Tuzla on 11 December: "'We Are in Serious Trouble, But We Will Fight'"]

[Text] Tuzla—Tuzla is still a thorn in the eye of the aggressor. The city has withstood all the attacks of the Serbo-chetnik army so far, and it is the center of the largest free territory in a republic exposed to increasingly fierce warfare. These facts are therefore arousing the anger of the planners of a "great Serbia." The Serbian-Montenegrin media provide the best expression of this. Thus, one of the Belgrade newspapers, for example, recently referred to Tuzla in a headline that ran across the entire page as the "sweetest piece of cake" in the end game of the battles to establish the borders of the "state" of Radovan Karadzic and the Serbs who live in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina].

The intensified attacks of chetnik artillery on the Tuzla region, which constitute the prelude to an aggression of the broadest scope, demonstrate that they are really trying to bring that about. Will Tuzla also experience the fate of Sarajevo, Jajce, Gradacac, Mostar, Brcko, and other B-H cities exposed to the worst sufferings?

"No, it must not and cannot," says Selim Beslagic, M.A., mayor of Tuzla. "The subregional movement of resistance has grown into a military organism capable of withstanding even much stronger aggressor forces than at present. The first lines of the front are further and further from the city, and it will soon be outside the range of even the heaviest artillery."

[Nosic] The price of the defense of Tuzla is immensely high.

[Beslagic] It would have been still higher if the people of Tuzla were not organized and ready for self-sacrifice. Both the youngest and the oldest have been making a full contribution to defense.

[Nosic] The consequences of the war in Tuzla are very cruel.

[Beslagic] Including the refugees, there are 180,000 people in the city. They have to be fed, given medical treatment, provided with heat, and they must be given some kind of roof over their head. To maintain bare existence, the present population of Tuzla needs 120 tons of basic foodstuffs every day. The hospitals have more than 1,500 of the most seriously wounded. Because of the constant attacks and destruction, we cannot organize instruction for schoolchildren and university students. We are bringing together the public schoolchildren in the larger shelters and basements, where their teachers are doing all they can.

[Nosic] Soon the roads will be blocked with snowdrifts. How will help get through?

[Beslagic] Along with all the others, that is yet another trouble. But our army is not idle. Everything is being done to open new and safer highway routes. Without them, Tuzla is condemned to death. Those who neither work nor fight represent even half of Tuzla's present population. The children are our greatest concern.

[Nosic] The international community knows everything, but is doing little.

[Beslagic] Unfortunately, that is so. For instance, they do not allow us to put into service transport planes which could land at the former military airfield Dubrava, which has been upgraded. It is like a conspiracy against Tuzla. The presence of UN forces designated to protect the humanitarian convoys on the way to Tuzla is also symbolic, and here the world bears the greatest responsibility.

[Nosic] Tuzla's industry has also come to a halt.

[Beslagic] It lacks raw materials and production supplies. The last inventories of products we have have been used up. With a more effective removal of the blockade of transportation routes, the Tuzla economy could develop again rapidly and successfully. I am referring, first of all, to the fuel and power industry. For example, Tuzla has 800 megawatts of thermal electric power plant capacity which is generating only one-tenth of its installed capacity. Even the coal mines have drastically cut back their operations. The chemical industry is also standing idle. All of those are production plants needed by both Croatia and Slovenia, and they represent Tuzla's very pulse.

[Nosic] You personally have been extremely closely involved in the mission of survival of Tuzla and the people of Tuzla.

[Beslagic] I have been and I will be. I have traveled all over Europe and spoken about the evil which has befallen us. There is a response. But however great it might be, it is still little compared to what we need.

[Nosic] What is the most necessary at this point?

[Beslagic] Above all, food and medicine. Very grave moments await us unless we get both. Up to now we have been doing the best we could. We ourselves know that we cannot survive on a monthly ration of half a liter of oil, half a kilogram of sugar, rice.... However, that is all that can be allotted, and it could happen that there would not even be that.

[Nosic] What is the way out?

[Beslagic] The military and political involvement of the world. We are talking about the bare existence of 180,000 people in Tuzla and a total of 850,000 people on free territory who are hungry, sick, wounded, exhausted.... We know how to fight and we will against the Chetniks, but we have to have help.

[Nosic] There is talk about Tuzla's alleged commitments to some kind of civil autonomous oblast.

[Beslagic] This is yet another product of enemy propaganda. Tuzla has been and will remain inseparable from independent and sovereign B-H. We know quite well at what such a fabrication is aimed. The people of Tuzla, committed to freedom, are aware what would happen to them if they bound up their destiny, as that entire fabrication suggests, with "autonomy" under the patronage of Belgrade and Pale.

[Nosic] There has been talk that Tuzla could become a place where the now nonexistent republic government would be established.

[Beslagic] We are ready to accept such an obligation. We are not imposing ourselves on anyone, although we ourselves take the position that Tuzla could organize more normal flows of life, say, in the economy, than those at present.

[Nosic] Mr. Mayor, the city of Tuzla, taking all in all, is in great trouble.

[Beslagic] It will be in still greater trouble unless it is helped. We have been arguing that we know how to fight and we are convinced that we can protect the city and the region from the aggressor.

The interview with the mayor of Tuzla was conducted on Friday in Zagreb. That same day, he was informed that the snow had covered the mountain roads along which the few humanitarian convoys were traveling, and there was some question of his return to the city whose inhabitants are waiting for some better news.

## Krajina 'Terrorists' Kill Croatian Guardsman

*LD1101184593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Shortly after 1300 today, Serb terrorists wearing police uniforms of the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina killed by sniper fire a Croatian home guardsman in the village of Hrastin on the Vuka river defense line. The serious incident occurred with no cause or reason, and chetniks have for days been trying to provoke larger clashes by firing from automatic weapons along the entire demarcation line. A statement of the main headquarters of the Croatian Army, the Osijek zone command, says that the provocations have intensified now, when the peace conference is in progress in Geneva. [passage omitted]

## Troops in UN-Type Uniforms Attack Croats

*LD1201101293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 12 Jan 93*

[Text] An incident was reported yesterday afternoon on the motorway leading from Zagreb to Lipovac, more precisely near the checkpoint of the UN forces on the border between Croatia and Vojvodina. The members of the Yugoslav forces, dressed in uniforms similar to those worn by the Russian UN troops, passed unnoticed by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] forces and attacked the Croatian positions. The attack was successfully repelled by the members of the 131st Croatian Army Brigade. This has resulted in the Croatian Army command in Osijek sending a note of protest to the UNPROFOR secretary's command.

## Boban Said Not Renouncing Herceg-Bosnia Concept

*93BA0407B Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 92 Europe Edition p 3*

[Article by the Croatian News Agency: "Boban Has Not Given Up on the Croatian Community Herceg-Bosnia"]

[Text] Mostar (Hina)—The Office of the President of HZ HB [Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia] has issued a press release concerning the press conference which Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], held in Zagreb on 17 December after the meeting of Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, with Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, Alija Izetbegovic, and Mate Boban, president of the HZ HB, when a newsman asked: "Does that mean that Mate Boban has given up on the concept of the HZ HB?" and Izetbegovic answered affirmatively, indicating that the "HZ HB will not be dismantled" before final agreement.

"In order to properly inform the public and correct misconceptions, we are making it known that the purpose of the meeting of Vance, Owen, Tudjman, Izetbegovic, and Boban was to adopt a decision to begin talks on [date indistinct] January in Geneva at the highest level between representatives of the Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian nationalities in order to reach an agreement on stopping the war and on the constitutional arrangement of the Republic of B-H, and on its governmental, administrative, and political-territorial arrangement.

"Talks were also conducted on a possible Muslim-Croatian proposal concerning the organization of B-H, and it was agreed that commissions of experts of the Muslim and Croatian people be named immediately to draft a proposal in a joint effort and deliver it to Izetbegovic and Boban for consideration.

"On the basis of the agreement reached, Mate Boban, president of the HZ HB, made a decision appointing a commission for reconciliation of the joint proposal of the constitutional system and governmental-administrative-political-territorial arrangement of the state of B-H. That decision was presented to Izetbegovic and to the political party SDA [Democratic Action Party] of B-H." The press release goes on to add that the Office of the President of the HZ HB had not received that decision of Izetbegovic up to the time when the press release was issued.

"It is evident that there is no reason whatsoever for Izetbegovic's assertion concerning Mate Boban's alleged renunciation of the conception of the HZ HB; indeed, the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia is and will be an expression of the will of the Croatian people toward exercising their rights in B-H and their rights to B-H. That will of the Croatian people, on the grounds that Mate Boban has a mandate to represent it at the highest level, has been expressed in the Political Charter of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] of B-H, which was adopted at the Second General Assembly of the HDZ of B-H on 14 November 1992 in Mostar.

"The Constitution of B-H must embody the political will of the Croatian people, clearly expressed through the political charter," states the press release signed by Srecko Vucina, head of the Office of the President of HZ HB.

A decision on Saturday naming the commission to reconcile the joint proposal of the constitutional system and governmental-administrative-political-territorial arrangement of the state of B-H, consisting of Zoran Buntic, Dr. Ante Marketic, and Ante [last name indistinct], was appended to that press release. "The commission is called upon to immediately organize and coordinate a working meeting with the commission of the Muslim people and in the shortest time to report on the joint proposal," states the decision, which was signed by Mate Boban, president of the HZ HB.

## Deputy Minister on Arms Use by UN Troops

*93BA0410A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 92 pp 1, 12, 21*

[Interview with Miomir Zuzul, deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, by Aleksa Crnjakovic: "The UN Protection Force Could Start Shooting"; place and date not given]

[Text] There are those who would like nothing better than to drive out the peacekeeping forces. And those who in March, when their term expires, would deny them hospitality. But there are also those who would keep them for the next 100 years, because they conceive them as "custodians of the Serbs and Serbism," and then also, of course, of the Croatian territories taken with bloodshed. Miomir Zuzul, a Croatian diplomat who is young both in his age and his experience, thinks as a representative of the interests of the state that there is yet another very real option—that the members of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] use the weapons which now serve them as an ornament. This option is very desirable for Croats. Is it possible?

[Crnjakovic] Could you tell us details from the Brioni conversation President Tudjman had with Messrs. Vance and Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia]?

[Zuzul] This was an ordinary exchange of opinions at a less formal level. I personally believe that both of them are very much interested in resolving the problems in this region, but now they are completely aware of the difficulties in carrying out the plan that was set up, and I believe this will result in certain changes.

[Crnjakovic] You are announcing something?

[Zuzul] Perhaps there might be a so-called amendment of the mandate of the peacekeeping forces, and that means instead of being "peacekeeping" they would be "transformed" into "peacemaking" forces.

[Crnjakovic] The members of the UNPROFOR could use weapons? To disarm, say, the "police" in the so-called Krajina?

[Zuzul] Precisely so. For instance, if we request it, and the UNPROFOR agrees to open the Zagreb—Split railroad line, and a group of armed Serbs emerge and do not allow this, the members of the peacemaking forces could open fire on them. This is not military intervention, this is a change of mandate. They are not attacking Serbian facilities, but in order to carry out the tasks they have been given, they would react, if necessary, even with weapons. So far they have been carrying their weapons as an ornament, for display.

[Crnjakovic] What are the chances of the change of mandate?

[Zuzul] I hope and believe that there are chances. The London Agreement even offers the basis for changing the mandate; at least I think that the Security Council should adopt a new resolution.

[Crnjakovic] Before or after the mandate of the UNPROFOR expires?

[Zuzul] Certainly before! We would want the change of mandate to occur even in December or at least in January. There are signs that this could happen in January. The Serbs have been allowed to interpret the Vance Plan as protection of the status quo. The Serbs had the idea that the peacekeeping forces should protect them. And that simply is not the case. The change of mandate would demonstrate to them that the members of the UNPROFOR are not here to show the Serbs the most recent technical achievements, nor to protect them.

[Crnjakovic] The change of mandate would also signify an extension of the mandate?

[Zuzul] Those things are not necessarily connected. Croatia's official position is that there is no discussion about extending the mandate unless the tasks in the Vance Plan are carried out. Probably, but I say that this is my personal view, the change of mandate would open up the possibility to talk about extending the mandate. We must finally have evidence that the tasks will be performed. So far there is no evidence. Along with all the benefit we have had so far from the peacekeeping forces, we cannot and will not accept the status quo, and the situation is beginning to look dangerously like that. I think this has already begun to penetrate the minds of the leading people in the international community.

### "I Would Refuse the Position of Prime Minister"

There are at least three reasons why people believe that Miomir Zuzul, until recently "only" professor and head of the Department of Developmental and Child Psychology in the School of Philosophy at Zagreb University, but today deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia and the president's national security adviser, is one of the most powerful and promising people in Croatian politics. He is from Imok, and they say that that lobby is fairly strong. It is said that Miomir Zuzul is "Susak's man," and the power of the defense minister is well-known. Aside from that, he is a personal friend of the president's son. A third reason has to do with his job: People believe that the very fact that someone is involved in the organization of the intelligence service, in this case within the foreign affairs sector, is already sufficient reason for personal political power.

The 37-year-old representative of the young Croatian diplomatic corps denied that to us very convincingly. If he is or is just becoming a powerful political personage, it will nevertheless be only on his own. The conversation in the large, but not impressively arranged office in the building of the Foreign Ministry in Visoka Ulica began with precisely those optional questions about his political rating and rumors that he will become either prime minister or foreign minister.

[Crnjakovic] Will you, then, acknowledge to us how much real power you have and what are its roots?

[Zuzul] Taken individually, the points of departure are accurate, but the general observation is nevertheless otherwise, that is a mere appearance. It is true that I am from Imok, but that fact in and of itself does not give me any power at all. In the past year, I have met all the people from Imok who are somehow in the top political leadership of Croatia, I have not particularly spent time with them, nor do I now. There are individuals from Imok in politics, but there is no Imok lobby in Croatian policy.

Susak? I am a friend of his, I hope, but I have not known him long either. Watching him through the war and through politics, I recognized that this is a man worthy of esteem. I belong to no one, not even to Susak, but I acknowledge that we are working along the same political line; that is, we have a similar political option, which in the final analysis is not Susak's, but the president's. In that sense, both Susak and I are the president's men, but he is the closer and stronger one.

It is true that I am concerned with organizing national security, but I am not an operative, which might give me certain, as you put it, political power.

I will tell you why I think that I have certain power, which I would not call political power. I am one of those people who has never demanded anything from this Croatian policy, nor expected that he would get anything. There are simply people whose feeling of security lies within themselves, and not in the politics in which they are engaged. I was secure in my previous job, and it is with that feeling that I came to Visoka Ulica. I always know that as soon as I cease to be of use or when they want me to do a job that is beneath my abilities, I can go back to the job which I know and like to do and in which I have been indisputably successful. That security of mine obviously gives the impression of political power on my part. The work which I am doing now attracts me, it is a kind of a challenge, but I can do without it. I liked my previous job too much, and I am convinced that I was performing it well, for any political office to attract me so strongly that I would be ready to go all out in fighting for it.

[Crnjakovic] Nevertheless, it is said that you will soon replace Mr. Skrabalo, we even hear that you are a candidate for the position of prime minister.

[Zuzul] Those are really rumors without substance. People are constantly making calculations. It is ridiculous to talk about the prime minister's office. I do not feel competent in the least to do that job. Even if the post were offered me, and it will not be, I would refuse it. As for the ministerial post, it is well-known that Mr. Skrabalo [foreign minister] will take an ambassadorship, he took the job here for a specified period of time, just until the ministry got organized. There is jabbering that I should replace him. My personal standards are very high, I have to feel very secure in the job which I do, and I think that I would not have that sense in a ministerial post. But in the post of deputy minister I have sufficient opportunities, if I like, to influence the conduct of Croatian foreign policy, perhaps even more than if I were minister, so that in that case I would only have greater responsibility, and I am not certain that I could live up to that kind of responsibility.

[Crnjakovic] But you cannot deny that this is nevertheless an interesting life, not only because you hear everything and know everything, and that at the level of global, world politics, but also because your circle of acquaintances is broadening even to those of whom until recently you knew only from the TV screen.

[Zuzul] That is a very demanding way of life. For me, who lived, worked, and thought quite freely, this has been a great burden. I would exchange all 10 of my diplomatic trips for one university trip. What is seen on TV is interesting, but what lies behind it is not so interesting. In this short time, I really have met a great number of people, but I, because I am at least 10 and perhaps even 20 years younger than a majority of those whom one meets at these diplomatic "functions," I rarely meet anyone who belongs either to my age group or to the group of people who think like I do. I rarely find anyone to whom I can talk, not only about politics, but even about a film I have seen or book I have read. I simply come from "another film," and then there is also that age difference.

[Crnjakovic] Do you feel that way even in your ministry?

[Zuzul] No, things are changing here, young people are arriving. To be sure, the public still perceives the ministry in the same way as before, and they put the minister in that old framework. But there are different people whom the old framework does not fit. Professor Skrabalo came with the task of organizing the ministry. He formed a team for that purpose, and I am a member of it. What the public does not see is that the new organization is slowly beginning to produce results. I would go so far as to say that that team will do a splendid job.

[Crnjakovic] Does that mean that Minister Skrabalo will not be leaving all that soon?

[Zuzul] It would be bad, not only for political reasons, but also for the work effort, if Professor Skrabalo should decide or if it were decided that he go to his new position before he has done the job he agreed to do. Several more months are needed to complete the organization of the ministry. Only then will the time be right to make a decision about the arrival of a new minister, who ought not to be someone who will have a short-term objective, as Professor Separovic did—the political promotion of Croatia outside the country, a job he did very well, or like Professor Skrabalo—to organize the ministry.

[Crnjakovic] Has the young Croatian diplomatic "guard" changed the picture of Croatia in the world? Assessments of that reputation range from completely negative to immoderately optimistic.

[Zuzul] Croatia has a good rating in the world, the president should really be believed when he says that. Croatia's position in the world at the moment is good, and that is more at the political level than the public level, which always lags behind. Croatia is accepted as a political entity in a qualitatively different way than before. We should not have illusions: This is not the consequence of our desires and of our action, but of a change in the political constellation in the world, in which Croatia has been accepted as an equal partner, as a state, put simply. We do not have to prove that we are a state and to behave that way. Some people might like it, some people might not, but it is accepted as a fact.

[Crnjakovic] Nevertheless, are we not on the diplomatic defensive? One gets the impression that just yesterday we were "chatting" almost daily with Mock, Genscher, and Kohl, and today we do not go anywhere.

[Zuzul] That impression is wrong. On the contrary, the diplomatic range is getting broader. Take, as an example, Minister Mock, who is closest to us. Since the summer, we have met with him four times, and we expect that he will soon visit President Tudjman. We talk over the telephone at least once a week, more frequently if necessary. Perhaps the contacts with Germany are not so frequent, that is a separate story, it would take more time, but generally speaking our contacts are becoming institutionalized. Our ministry does not have to go to Germany in order to contact German politicians. We have an embassy with 10 diplomats, and through them we can conduct 30 contacts without anyone budging from Zagreb. Moreover, there are contacts that are not spoken about in public.

[Crnjakovic] You did not answer my question about the young diplomatic guard.

[Zuzul] We were talking about whether our diplomacy has been effective or not, and in the world we have a total of 70 employees. Every state of this order of magnitude has approximately 500 diplomats scattered over the world. Austria or Belgium has between 800 and 1,200. The world of diplomacy has been reacting extremely well to our young diplomats. They have not been pretending that they know that job, but they are educated, and they learn quickly. Here, let us take our diplomatic team at the United Nations for example: It is the youngest and smallest in the world (only five of them), but it has been extremely successful. In Switzerland, the oldest man on our diplomatic team is not even 40 yet, yet all doors are open to that team. The Swiss diplomatic corps has very high standards, so that they might have said: "What are these young kids doing here?" But they have been ready to help. We have to rely on that help. The Austrian and Vatican diplomatic corps have been helping us a very great deal, they have been behaving almost as though they belong to us, and we often turn to them for help.

[Crnjakovic] You were recently in Geneva at a human rights conference. Is it not true that B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] was at the center of attention, which would be understandable in view of the war, at the expense of Croatia, which they seem to have forgotten?

[Zuzul] I might agree with you. I think that the world has begun to treat Croatia a little as though the case had been solved, because, they say, people are not dying here, there is no war. Prevlaka has been liberated. They forget about Vance's plan, the refugees, Zupanja. This is a dangerous thing to which our diplomatic corps and the entire state must constantly react. The situation in Croatia has not been resolved. We do not want to accept the situation in the UNPA [UN protected areas], nor that Croatia alone should take care of the refugees. We are still a hotbed of crisis, a zone even of possible military conflicts unless the problems, and they are not ours alone, are solved. That is what we have been saying in Geneva, and all the other diplomatic representations of Croatia in the world will pursue that same line of thought. Incidentally, the world is not allowing us to resolve our own problem ourselves, which is perhaps better for us. But then it has to act more quickly.

[Crnjakovic] So far the West has played the key role in resolving the crisis in the Balkans. The Islamic world is slowly taking the initiative, even blackmailing the West with certain solo actions if a policy of intentional hindrance should be conducted. How useful can that be?

[Zuzul] The Islamic world can influence the resolution of the crisis exceedingly, that is a powerful part of the world. But you have forgotten a third line of influence: the Russian line. The disintegration of a state is perhaps a local thing only at the beginning, that is no longer the case. We are the point for unraveling a crisis in which three global world currents are actually in conflict. Here in our country, the cards are being dealt for future political positions in the world.

[Crnjakovic] Who will draw the ace?

[Zuzul] The Western current is the strongest and most influential, but also the most diluted, with a great many differing interests, with no consistent plan. Europe cannot find the minimum of common interest that would get a particular action started.

[Crnjakovic] Could Washington get it started? It did it in Somalia. Is that not a flight from the Balkan crisis?

[Zuzul] I am not certain. Bosnia is a more difficult problem than Somalia. It is like deciding whether to jump into the courtyard from the ground floor or the third story. How you fare also depends on where you fall, on the concrete or on the dirt? It is a more difficult decision to get involved in Bosnia in both military and political terms. There has to be a political vision.

[Crnjakovic] Does it exist?

[Zuzul] In Europe, I think it does not exist. I think it does exist in the United States, but it is not strong enough. That kind of vision is not necessary for Somalia.

[Crnjakovic] Is not the world holding back because nevertheless it does have a vision, but a vision of an expanded Serbia?

[Zuzul] Foot-dragging does have that result, but I do not believe that that is a plan, a vision. Perhaps at one point the West did allow Serbia to become strong, fearing the penetration of Islam and trying to stop it. A number of lapses occurred in this respect on various sides, but I think that the interest of the West cannot be a strengthening of an expanded Serbia. It is no accident that the communist bloc is coming back to life, look at the Baltic countries, and then Bulgaria. It is an illusion, to which even we are captive, that a political system can be changed overnight. People fall from euphoria into depression, and the old forces begin to gain support. The Communists are winning, which could result in a dangerous linkup.

[Crnjakovic] Are you forecasting a Balkan war? How do you assess the possible withdrawal of Turkey from the United Nations, which its politicians are threatening?

[Zuzul] The Islamic world is ready for mobilization, it is exerting stronger and stronger pressure, its interest is clearly profiled. Turkey, as a state of the Islamic world, but one which at the same time has ties with the West, can be a mediator, and its role is constructive.

[Crnjakovic] The other day President Tudjman again had occasion to receive a visit from Mr. Izetbegovic. Is there anything new in relations between the two countries?

[Zuzul] It is the general assessment that these meetings result in still greater rapprochement and joint action in the world, for example, in Jeddah. That is a friendship not just of the moment, but permanent. I hope it will not happen again, but it has happened that in Zagreb we parted as friends without having solved the problems, and the same problems cropped up the very next day. At the moment, the relations between the Muslim leadership and Croatia are very good.

[Crnjakovic] I will ask you a very undiplomatic question: Is Mr. Izetbegovic the right partner to talk to, because his state is disappearing before his eyes, and even his people are fewer and fewer? Are they still supporting him?

[Zuzul] He quite certainly is the right man to talk to, not only because he is the legitimate president of the Presidency. It is almost impossible to say who has support in B-H. I personally think that he has, and that not only the support of the Muslim people, but no one can say that with certainty. He is certainly the right man to talk to, because at the international level he is taken as the representative of B-H, perhaps even more than he really is. I think that even Bosnia has a chance.

## Opposition Walks Out of Assembly Meeting

*93BA0429A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 92 p 6*

[Article by G.G.: "Walkout from House of Representatives Session: Debate Denied"]

[Text] *Once the opposition had slowly dispersed from the Assembly lobby, a true parliamentary scandal occurred, and the main actors were Antun Vrdoljak, Ivica Racan, and Josip Pankretic.*

After being dissatisfied with the way in which four important laws were enacted, members of the opposition staged a walkout from the Great Council Chamber, and explained to journalists that the reason for their departure was that they were not allowed to debate certain new proposals on the state's territorial structure. They said that even though they requested it, they were not granted a recess in order to familiarize themselves with the new items proposed by the government that arrived after debate had been ended.

They were supposed to get tabulated lists of all the proposed amendments, the members of the opposition said in one voice, but those lists were available only to the vice chairman of the Assembly and certain representatives. The opposition did not receive these lists even though, they contended, enough copies had already been prepared for every representative to get one. They also told journalists of their somewhat enigmatic opinion that the lists were not distributed to them under someone's orders.

While they were leaving the Assembly building, they announced that they would be present at the resumption of the session on Wednesday [6 January], when Prime Minister Sarinic's stabilization program is up for consideration. While the opposition was speaking with journalists in the lobby, the representatives in the council chamber were calmly proceeding to pass the amendments to the proposed laws.

Once the opposition had slowly dispersed from the Assembly lobby, a true parliamentary scandal occurred, and the main actors were Antun Vrdoljak, Ivica Racan, and Josip Pankretic.

After the opposition's walkout, only representatives of the SNS [Serbian People's Party] and HSS [Croatian Peasants Party] were left in the Assembly building. In a corridor, Racan happened across Pankretic, who had left the Assembly building briefly, and asked him what he was still doing inside, when the entire opposition had left the Council Chamber.

"Does this mean that you are HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] too?"

"I didn't even know they were leaving," Pankretic responded, somewhat confused. The conversation was then interrupted by the visibly agitated Vrdoljak.

"Why are you, Racan, exerting ideological pressure on the representatives? Those days are over."

Gesticulating forcefully, and continuing to address Racan, Vrdoljak referred to the 45 years of communist darkness in which he had lived, while Racan, under attack, simply responded, "Take it easy, take it easy." Pankretic naturally tried to calm things down, saying that no one had exerted "ideological pressure" on him, but that did not help. So the duel continued. Finally, when it appeared to the confused observers, representatives and journalists, that things could turn physical, because Racan reproached Vrdoljak for having been well-off under both the old and the new system, Vrdoljak suddenly ended the quarrel and went into the Council Chamber.

Speaking with Pankretic (who did leave the Assembly building with his HSS members) later, he said that Racan had threatened in 1973 that he would no longer be able to find a job in this country. When asked by Pankretic where this happened, he added that Racan had said that to him in the building of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. Already flustered by the whole matter, Pankretic then asked Vrdoljak, "And what were you doing at the Central Committee?"

But Vrdoljak had already left to enter the Council Chamber, where the laws were being enacted, and he did not respond to that question.

## Publication of Zagreb Weekly To Start

*93BA0406E Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 92 p 4*

[Article by Dz.I.: "A Croatian Weekly in New Clothes"]

[Text] Zagreb—After a lengthy interval in which it was not published and all the turbulent events concerning the once well-known and highly influential Croatian news weekly DANAS, and then briefly NOVI DANAS, on Wednesday [23 December] the weekly DANAS will again appear at newsstands all over Croatia and Europe. This is the culmination of an effort over several months to put together a new editorial staff, to shape a new editorial policy and a new orientation of the weekly that bears the well-known name. Zvonimir Lisinski is the editor in chief of the new DANAS; he says this is a weekly started with the private capital of the firm Maksimal, and it is owned by Mr. Boris Pok.

The new editorial staff brings together a great number of journalists who formerly worked on several papers: SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, NEDELJNA DALMACIJA, GLOBUS, VJESNIK, GLASNIK, and VECERNJI LIST. Lisinski says that these journalists were brought together on the basis of one and only one criterion—professionalism.

"Nothing has remained of the early speculation that we have ties to GLASNIK HDZ-A," says Kloverka Novak-Srzic, deputy editor in chief and domestic political editor on the newspaper (two journalists came over from GLASNIK). The editors of DANAS say that the paper has leased the offices and name of DANAS on the 16th floor of the VJESNIK skyscraper, but they did not buy the entire newspaper, because the new staff does not intend to pay the debt left by the previous staffs.

In the flood of yellow journalism, with its concentration on sensationalism and scandal, they say at DANAS, we think that there will also be room for us, a Croatian political weekly, with a good marketing organization, and it will neither be a regime paper nor an opposition paper. They say at the newspaper that they will maintain the same critical attitude toward the government and the opposition, that the weekly will be an authentic Croatian, liberal, independent, and critical newspaper.

The editorial staff is made up of the well-known journalists Tomislav Butorac (foreign policy), Zdravko Zima (culture), Sanja Muzaferija (life), and Josip Jovic, Zvonko Larotic, Josip Sentila, and some 20 other journalists will be involved with columns and other articles.

The first issue in the new series of DANAS is being printed in a printing of 57,000 copies, in full color, and this will be the Christmas double issue. The newspaper will begin to come out regularly on 6 January of next year. The price of the weekly is 400 dinars.

## Foreign Ministry Protests Presence of Croat Boats

*AU1101215093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] The Croatian police boats, including a rocket gunboat [raketna topnjaca], sailed on several occasions last weekend into Piran Bay, which is controlled by the Slovene police. With regard to this, Anton Rupnik, press spokesman of the Slovene Foreign Ministry in the absence of minister Dimitrij Rupel, gave the following statement:

[Begin recording] Foreign Minister Rupel instructed Matija Malesic, our ambassador in Zagreb, to present a verbal protest to the Croatian foreign minister, which has just happened. Miljenko Zagar, ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Slovenia, was summoned to our Foreign Ministry a few minutes ago, where Deputy Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler presented the protest to him.

Ambassador Zagar proposed an immediate meeting of the authorized representatives of the Interior and Foreign Ministries of both countries to resolve the controversial issues.

The Slovene Foreign Ministry and the entire Slovene Government wonder why anti-Croatian feelings have to be generated among the Slovenes. Namely, this event caused a great deal of anti-Croatian sentiment. The Foreign Ministry expects that the Croatian side will, in keeping with last year's agreement, ensure that no military actions, such as use of military vessels, will take place this year in Piran Bay. [end recording]

## Parties Reject Proposed Right-Wing Coalition

*AU1201084893 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Report by Gojko Brvar from the news conference by Slovene Peoples' Party, in Ljubljana on 11 January—recorded]

[Text] The Greens of Slovenia have said that the party leadership has decided that the party will act as constructive opposition to Drnovsek's government in the new State Chamber.

The Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats have rejected the proposal [to participate in a coalition] until the fate of Drnovsek's premiership is known. The Slovene National Party has decided to spend this term in opposition.

The Slovene Peoples' Party says that its initiative was nevertheless a useful experience, as it at least offered the deputies an alternative. At today's news conference, it urged deputies to reconsider thoroughly whether the voters have really given them a mandate for a center-left, that is, left- oriented government.

The party is not hiding its disappointment that the initiative was not supported by parties with similar views. At the same time they add that their offer did not mean that they themselves would put forward a prime minister-designate for the center-right coalition. For them, Christian Democrat Ivo Bizjak would also have been acceptable. They also said that the leader of their club of deputies signed the proposed law on government, which will be discussed in the State Chamber tomorrow, just as other leaders of the clubs of deputies did, but that the party will nevertheless put forward their amendments to the law. They are primarily concerned that the prime minister has too much power, including the power to issue compulsory instructions to individual ministers concerning the implementation of government policy, which runs partially contrary to the Constitution. They will also insist that the activities of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy be widened to include the domain of family. They expect to meet all the five parties which they hoped to include in the right-wing coalition once again this evening and announce that much could change as a result of the meeting on the evening prior to the vote on Drnovsek's premiership on 12 January.

If Dr. Drnovsek really tries to assemble a government of left-wing parties, the party has no intention of supporting the new prime-minister designate in the State Chamber tomorrow.

## Federal

### Seselj Will Demand Cosic Resignation

*LD1101224493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2151 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The leader of the Serbian Radicals, Vojislav Seselj, hinted in a statement that will be published in POLITIKA tomorrow that his party would set in motion an initiative for FRY Federal President Dobrica Cosic's dismissal if Cosic did not resign.

Seselj said that the Serbian Radical Party position is that early elections were held at almost all levels and that it was necessary to hold them at all levels—including the federal level. He then added that following the federal parliamentary elections it was necessary to hold presidential elections.

Seselj claims that Cosic "systematically violated the Constitution" and holds that his proposal for a coalition government "devalues the election results" and that he is trying "to make room in the government for his defeated proteges: Dragoljub Micunovic and Cedomir Mirkovic." This will not be possible, Seselj makes it clear, adding that "Cosic proved himself to be an amateur politician to the extent that there is now a new saying: 'I hope Cosic supports you at the elections because then you will lose.'"

### Human Rights Minister Proposes Independent Body

*AU1101161993 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 92 p 5*

[Unattributed report on the statement by Dr. Momcilo Grubac, federal minister for human rights and the rights of minorities, in Belgrade; date not given: "We Look Like a Fire Brigade"]

[Text] "Our next main task is the invention of safe and effective instruments for the protection of human rights," Dr. Momcilo Grubac, federal minister for human rights and the rights of minorities, said at the forum "TANJUG's Guest." He emphasized that because of the very difficult general state of the country, "we cannot be proud of the level of human rights," pointing out the fact that human rights are not an abstract entity, independent of the conditions in which they evolve.

The second important problem is the discrepancy between regulations and reality.

"We have inherited from the past almost perfect laws on human rights, but we do not have instruments for their effective implementation and protection. This is a heritage suitable to the mentality of the former regime, which favored words, not deeds. That is to say, the law regulated everything, and in reality nobody observed it," Grubac said.

Therefore, he assessed that the whole legislative system must be revised, and that also instruments for protection of human rights must be lawfully regulated.

"The real protection of human rights is absent here, such as exists abroad under different names, such as the ombudsman in Sweden. We would call this office the protector or the defender of human rights. It ought to be a detached and independent state body that would guarantee the implementation of all measures, and particularly legal measures in cases of serious violations of human rights.

"As an independant organization, it would intervene on its own initiative. Because, theoretically, the Ministry for Human Rights is a part of the government, which means that it depends on its political course, and might not be able to carry out measures that are not in accordance with such a course.

"The problem is that we always look like a fire brigade trying to react to problems because the prevention of human rights abuses has been undeveloped."

Expressing his belief that a successful realization of human rights is the basic principle of a lawful state, Grubac said: "A state cannot be lawful if human rights are not fully guaranteed, not to mention if they are violated. Citizens must have more rights, and it is the duty of the state to provide those rights, and this is a good way of establishing the state's lawfulness, rather than the imposition of rigorous sanctions on lawbreakers."

The major problem for Grubac is that the issue of general human rights has been suppressed by the issue of ethnic minorities, now a dominant problem.

"The Ministry for Human Rights ought to take care of other citizens who are a sort of minority today, such as the disabled, members of various minor religious confessions, and, these days particularly, refugees, but the problem of ethnic minorities is diverting public attention away from those issues.

"Where there are larger communities of ethnic minorities, demands for political rights emerge, while in smaller communities people demand social rights.

"The Gypsies, for instance, demand an improvement in their social rights, and have no political aspirations, as distinguished from the ethnic Albanians, who do not stress social rights, although they have many problems in that field, but prefer to dwell on the political aspect of human rights.

"Also the ethnic Hungarians have recently been discussing the position of their minority in terms of politics more than of human rights as such," he said.

In view of the request of the ethnic Albanians' political leaders' demands that any negotiations with the authorities should be carried out under the terms of the 1974 Constitution, Grubac underlined that such a request leads to the question of the autonomy of the provinces, that is to say, toward their special status, as it is usually called in international circles.

"Their special status is, in fact, a sort of ethnic autonomy, that was hitherto unknown to the Yugoslav system.

"Now, this idea has been interpreted in terms of ethnic autonomy, suggesting at the same time political independence, and that of territory borders.

"Such an idea has existed since the Hague conference, and is confirmed, in a way, by the documents of the London Conference.

"To conclude, we have to get involved in the question of autonomy, but the way it will look is a matter for the internal constitution of Yugoslavia," Dr. Grubac said.

### IMF Terms for Continued Membership Accepted

*LD1101213593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today sent the IMF a report on its decision to accept the terms for continued membership in this financial organization, Zarko Trbojevic—until recently deputy executive director and member of the IMF executive directorate in Washington—told TANJUG when he took part in a TANJUG-organized discussion.

By accepting the terms for continuing its membership in the IMF and the division of the former federation's assets and liabilities between five equal successors, the FRY has taken an initial step closer toward the world of finance from which—due to the sanctions and the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY]—it has been excluded for quite some time. The IMF carried out all the business of dividing the quotas in an exceptionally fair and professional way. "From that point of view, there should be no problems," Trbojevic stressed.

By fulfilling the first, formal condition, Yugoslavia and the other successors of the former SFRY are expected to demonstrate that they have both the capacity and willingness to meet the obligations envisaged by the IMF statute. [passage omitted]

### Army Chief on Modernization, Political Issues

*AU1101130393 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 92 pp 12, 13*

[Interview with Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, by Dragan Mojovic and Borislav Solesa; place and date not given: "A Military Attack on Us Would Set All of Europe Aflame"]

[Text] *General Zivota Panic, the chief of staff of the most mysterious and unpredictable army in the world, cultivates the style of a smiling officer, something at which he is generally successful. The smile and the resolute style of this 59-year-old high-ranking officer from Trstenik (almost a neighbor of his supreme commander, Dobrica Cosic) should carry much of the heavy burden on the backs of the Serbian and Montenegrin people. Whether he will succeed in this is a question to which almost everyone is seeking an answer. The temptation which the Army, traumatized by civil war, has found is not the least bit naive. Today, the oath given by Panic and his colleagues in the Defense Ministry and General Staff to the Yugoslav People's Army, which was actually an oath given to Josip Broz Tito, is no longer valid, and they face other dilemmas. We talked about all of this.*

[BORBA] The public is very interested in what the modern Yugoslav Army will be like after the transformation of the former Yugoslav People's Army. Can you tell us what the modernization and transformation encompasses, what has already been done, and when will the process come to an end?

[Panic] The transformation constitutes a new, essentially professional attitude, both toward the military profession and toward patriotism, regardless of the political constellation of forces in a society ruled by a multiparty, parliamentary democracy. The transformation is a process that will last a certain period of time, and which in my opinion will be determined by the transformation of our society, state, and its institutions. We are today constituting a new Army based on the values determined by the whole of society. Therefore, the ideological old Army has been replaced by a new, nonideological and depoliticized Army, which sees the fulfillment of its role exclusively in its loyalty to the profession and to the country.

[BORBA] Considering that creators of the new have to be new people, the question arises by itself: Who is responsible for the idea and the concept of the reorganization and modernization? Can the Army transform itself if those primarily responsible for the transformation are among those with the greatest responsibility in the hierarchy? The ethics of some of these people and the quality of their professional competence have been called into question because their duties over the last few years have enabled them to come into contact with the visible weaknesses and errors of the former Army during the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the war.

[Panic] I do not share your opinion that the creators of the new can only be "new people." Especially if you take into account that the creative powers of our society during the last several decades have been, to say the least, "limited." The same applies to the former Army's staff and their ideas. As for the question of ethics, we deal with it by distancing ourselves, in word and deed, from the events and individuals that have compromised the former Army in the past.

#### We Are Not to Blame for the Old Army's Errors

[BORBA] The successful creation of the new Army in many ways depends on a realistic analysis of the old one's weaknesses. Has it been possible to conduct such an analysis, considering that there are officers who, in their desire to retain their positions, have a vested interest in never completely bringing to light all the weaknesses and errors of the old Army?

[Panic] We were able to and we did conduct thorough analyses not only of the old Army, but also of the entire former and present society. Such analyses are not only useful and necessary, but they are also normal and planned beforehand. Every event in any given army and in the society within which it exists is always under the close observation of army experts. Every little change, action, every defeat and victory is always subject to close analysis. The object of our analyses included that small number of officers who you say are interested in maintaining the "status quo." Most of them are gone, but even while they were still active, they did not participate in the creation of new concepts. I must stress that there is an unjustified trend toward projecting many of the former Army's errors onto the present Army, which leaves a bitter taste in the mouths of the officer cadre and is having a negative effect on its ambition to be the Army of all patriotic parties and citizens alike.

[BORBA] In your opinion, what were the greatest failings of the old Army during the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and in the war—from Slovenia to Bosnia-Hercegovina? Which aspects of the Army exhibited the most weaknesses in action?

[Panic] The main failings were conceptual. In the first place, it was the glorification of the abstract system of nationwide defense and social self-protection in combination with the practical and systematic promotion of national armies. According to this concept, the old Army trained and armed ethnic armies which later turned against it. There were a lot of mistakes in the political strategy concerning the use of the old Army, as well as professional dilettantism in the leading and commanding of the troops. The operation in Slovenia was a typical example of such amateurism, and I personally believe that it was the crucial moment that sealed the Army's fate.

[BORBA] There was a moment when the formation of a Serbian-Montenegrin army was almost a reality. This was Vuk Obradovic's idea. Why was this idea abandoned? Recently, the opposition requested that the existing Army be disbanded, while others want a much larger Army.

[Panic] Is this Army not already a Serbian-Montenegrin one? Moreover, it is far from true that General Obradovic initiated this idea. He did initiate some ideas, but they are of a primarily political nature. Some of these ideas, however, have caused the public to link the former Army to some of the newly-founded parties and movements. I repeat, the Yugoslav Army is a supra-party institution, whose place and role in society is clearly defined by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As for the size of the Army, it will be as large as it needs to be in order to carry out its duty, which is the defense of the independence and the dignity of our country and its people, and it will have the power to cause unacceptable losses to any possible aggressor.

[BORBA] The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and its Army has made it necessary to redefine the doctrine and strategy for the defense of the new Yugoslavia. On which aspects of the Army will the power and concept of defense be based, considering that the territory has been halved and the sea and skies are somewhat narrow for large-scale aerial and naval maneuvers? In addition, the population has also been halved, so there is no possibility of forming a large Army.

[Panic] The doctrine and strategy are defined by the state's defense policy. Our authority lies in the sphere of important proposals and expert suggestions. We are also authorized to mobilize the troops if our supreme commander makes such a decision.

At this point, we have already worked out in detail all the possibilities for engaging our troops in the defense of the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The troops at our disposal are in proportion to the size of the territory, the sea, and the air space. Our manpower potential in proportion to the territory has not decreased. Neither the sea, the sky, or the land are too small for us. What we have—we defend.

### Peacetime Formations—100,000 Troops

[BORBA] The idea of a professional Army is frequently mentioned. Has this been definitely decided on? With regard to this, what is being done at the moment? When will the process of forming a professional, volunteer Army be concluded?

[Panic] In laymen's terms, a professional army is very often identified with a mercenary army. Professionalism in an army means being qualified for efficient combat in all conditions and the elimination of amateurism.

We already have elite troops with substantial combat experience. One of these is the 63d Airborne Brigade, which is a true model of professionalism. We are constantly increasing the number of these troops and updating their equipment. Of course, not all members of the Army can attain this professional level, but with training and practice they will be stimulated to try. However, there are financial limits involved in forming a professional army, and I am afraid things are going to get progressively harder in this respect. Even under such conditions, we must do the best we can, and we must also acquaint the state and its institutions with the level of modernization, the social picture, and the living standards of its officers and men.

[BORBA] How many people will the Army number? Will there be generals without an Army after the reorganization, and what are you going to do about the superfluous officers?

[Panic] I have already partly answered this question. In any case, the peacetime formations will number more than 100,000 troops. In wartime, this number would be several times larger. We are anticipating surplus staff and this is being dealt with according to existing legal regulations. Some of these regulations are not good and they are not in the interest of people who have spent their entire lives in the service of the former Army. Moreover, the long procedures involved in ratifying the Law on the Yugoslav Army are not helping matters.

As for generals without an army, they have always existed and will go on existing not only in our Army, but in all armies. I presume you are thinking of all those generals who are not directly involved in a unit and are not part of the commanding cadre. They apply their knowledge, expertise, and labor to some other Army areas such as the medical, electronic, mechanical, chemical-technological, pedagogical, etc.... They have earned their stripes by doing scientific research without which the operational part of the Army would be considerably weaker.

[BORBA] Those that have taken part in warfare, from Slovenia to Bosnia-Hercegovina, have frequently complained that the quality of locally produced weapons is inferior to that of the imported weapons used by the warring sides. How do you estimate the quality and the tactical and technical ability of our weapons after the experience gained in combat?

[Panic] We have quality weapons. The Army's technical equipment has been well preserved, although we do possess some models which are somewhat outdated. The weapons industry is doing everything to ease the problems that have arisen with the isolation of Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, we have everything we need in order to resist the aggressor, because our territory is such that there are no ideal landscape and meteorological conditions for the significant advantage that our enemy would have in electronics and in airspace. Combat experience has shown that in addition to modern equipment, efficiency is conditioned by the ability to make do with what you have.

[BORBA] You have often stressed that the Army needs to be depoliticized. What is being done and what can be done, considering that the whole officer cadre has been trained and educated in conditions of one-party indoctrination and the ideological brainwashing of the Army?

[Panic] The Army has been depoliticized. Political parties are banned, as is party membership and campaigning on behalf of a party, to all members of the standing Army. Your assumption about "one-party education" and "indoctrination" is about as correct as the hypothesis about the one-party structure of current society. Depoliticization implies the sanctioned practice of political neutrality according to the demands of the profession. In view of this, our political neutrality has already achieved dimensions of patriotic value. Part of my answer could be turned into a question: Did BORBA change direction in order to negate its historical and ideological essence, or is the change of color only part of the dynamics inherent to all of us? Formally, the Army changed the ideological symbols of its past a lot earlier than your paper changed its color.

### No Comment on Panic's Candidacy

[BORBA] An absurd situation occurred before the elections: Defense Minister Milan Panic's candidacy for president of Serbia did not get the support of the generals—the members of the collegiate body of the Defense Ministry, although there were indications that the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Army's supreme commander, was supporting the prime minister. The General Staff dissociated itself from the collegiate body's statement. All this caused great confusion around the disunity and the authority of the Supreme Command and the Army, and raised the suspicion of disunity along the lines of a conflict between the federal authorities and those of the Republic of Serbia. What really happened, and how did it come to this? It can be concluded from the interview that Air Force commander Bozidar Stevanovic gave for VECERNJE NOVOSTI just prior to the elections, that the generals were not renouncing the collegiate body's statement. To whom does the Army belong even if it does keep stressing how it wishes to remain outside political and party conflicts?

[Panic] With respect to my present position, I cannot comment on anyone's candidacy, including Panic's. In the same way, I cannot comment on the action of the collegiate body, because they are outside my jurisdiction, just as the General Staff is out of theirs. Regarding the General Staff's statement, I can say that our information service in the first place corrected certain material broadcast by a television station, which said, for example, that I, my staff, and my Army commanders were members of the collegiate body. Therefore, there can be no misunderstanding. We are not committing ourselves to parties or individuals, but to a principled honoring of the present Constitution. As for Stevanovic's interview, I can only say that it constitutes a kind of informational outing, during which he stated his personal view of the current social situation. It certainly does not reflect the attitude of the Army, whose duty it is to play a neutral role in the country's political life.

[BORBA] Will there be a change of generals as was recently announced by a minister in the federal government?

[Panic] I am not familiar with the essence of the statement. A change of generals, as in a political purge, does not exist. What exists is a change of generations, certain people resigning from their posts, a search for better and more creative personnel. This is a standard working method in dynamic organizations. The question of personnel is crucial to the future of the Army, but the expectation that everything can be solved by spectacular changes of personnel is out of touch with reality. Army generals are appointed or they leave according to existing legal regulations and not based on someone's statements.

[BORBA] In the Serbian and Yugoslav monarchy, the army and its officers could not vote. Is a similar decision being considered by the Army, since there is no other effective way of keeping it from getting involved in party conflicts?

[Panic] You must not confuse political involvement with the right to vote. The banning of political involvement does not eliminate the civil right to vote. The taking away of someone's voting right is not only a political dilemma but an ethical one, and it is an option for the state and not the Army.

In a non-ideological state and army, the right to vote is a basic civil right, which cannot be taken away from soldiers, officers, and civilians in the Army's service. The Army will respect the law, regardless of how it decides to regulate the right to vote, but I would like to say that by restricting voting you do not achieve neutrality, but you do encourage doubts in society's democratic principles.

### The Army Can No Longer Be a Victim of Compromise

[BORBA] The ratification of the Law on the Army is taking place in an atmosphere of tense relations between the federal and the Serbian authorities, owing to issues of national and state interests. What is the main point in the coordination process? Can we have a repeat performance of the situation a few years ago, when the Army was the victim of irresponsible compromises on the part of political factors? What does Serbia want when it comes to the Army's authority and command on its territory?

[Panic] The law in question is going through its parliamentary procedure. The standstill is a direct consequence of a disproportion in the functioning of state institutions and military practice. I do not want to prejudice any solutions and I do not want to discuss the appropriateness of conflicts between the federal state and the member republics. However, the standstill in the ratification of norms which form the basis of the Army's existence will have certain consequences. In spite of this, I do not think that the Army can ever again be a victim of anyone's compromises.

[BORBA] There are frequent threats of military intervention. Apart from targets in Bosnia-Hercegovina, there is talk of bombing airports and other targets on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. How will the Army react if there is military intervention and air attacks on Serbian positions in Bosnia-Hercegovina and targets in Yugoslavia?

[Panic] The Army is constantly monitoring the situation and the threats.

Although any foreign military intervention on the territory of the former Yugoslavia would be totally illogical and would carry the risk of spreading the conflict to the whole of the European continent and beyond, the Army has been on alert for quite some time now and is ready to strike back at the aggressor with everything it possesses. The primary goal of such actions would be an attempt to biologically exterminate the Serbian people wherever they may live, and it would be done under the auspices of the United Nations. We must not shut our eyes to this fact and we must be ready for it. The more we are aware of this and the more Serbian nationhood is united, the remoter the possibility of such aggression becomes.

The state authorities, together with the president and supreme commander, are the ones who will decide whether the Army should intervene outside the territory of Yugoslavia. Personally, I believe that the Army cannot remain on the sidelines if the biological survival of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina is threatened.

[BORBA] You have announced the production of missiles with a range of up to 1000 km. What does this mean? Is this a warning to someone?

[Panic] New technological trends in the world make it necessary for us to modernize the Armed Forces. Every armed force worth its salt, one that respects its goals, must develop and possess the technology with which it can deter a possible opponent at the very outset. These missiles are part of this technology. Regardless of how difficult it is in the present conditions, our Army is keeping up with all the trends and in some areas it is among the top international manufacturers. For example, some of our missiles have an error factor of only 10 meters from the center of the target, which places them at the very top in their class.

[BORBA] We are all, regardless of our profession, citizens. Which political parties and programs have your sympathy?

[Panic] I am not a member of any political party or similar organization. As a boy, I used to dream of becoming a soldier. This wish came true and today I am devoting all my time and energy to my profession.

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## Serbia

### Party Official Views Socialist Victory

*AU1101170393 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 92 p 10*

[Interview with Milomir Minic, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Serbia by Milenko Pesic; place and date not given: "Minic: No Major Problems With the Government"]

[Text] At the elections on 20 December the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] became the largest parliamentary party. Milan Minic, secretary general of the SPS, discussed the elections, the new power structure, and the major tasks of the socialists in an interview with POLITIKA.

[POLITIKA] The elections took place 10 days ago, but the final, official results have still not been released. What is the reason?

[Minic] The reason is, basically, of a technical nature. The SPS were so well organized that the same night, just after the polling stations closed, we knew quite precisely the results of the Serbian presidential elections. When one compares the data issued by our staff with those issued by the Statistical Institute, one can see that, basically, there are no major deviations.

### The World Accepted the Results

[POLITIKA] Because of certain perceived omissions many people doubt the regularity of the elections.

[Minic] I am surprised at such attempts to discredit the recent elections. I think that the elections were free, democratic, honest, and open. Of course, there were some omissions regarding people whose names had been deleted from the electoral rolls. However, all the mistakes detected, according to our analyses, would alter the result by less than 1 percent. Those who lost may put it as high as 10 percent, but it is not true. The fact that the international public has accepted the results must be taken into account.

[POLITIKA] What do you think is the main point of the elections?

[Minic] Serbia needed these elections. The question of authority must be resolved by ballot boxes, and not on the streets. The results have provided Serbia with the necessary stability for the next four years. Despite flagrant interference from abroad, telling the voters who to vote for, the citizens showed their high patriotic consciousness by their massive turnout. Despite international pressure, the people voted according to their own will. One of the campaign's characteristics was the brilliant victory of Slobodan Milosevic. It confirmed, in a way, the presidential system in our republic, at least for the present political moment. It means that the citizens recognize the office of Serbian president as a necessary factor of stability.

[POLITIKA] You recently said that patriotic forces won the elections. What did you mean?

[Minic] When I said it, I did not mean that the other forces were not patriotic. The parties who ran in the elections won various numbers of seats in the Assembly. During the campaign, we all agreed that these were more than ordinary elections. When we insisted on Serbian national and state progress, other parties used to say "All right, that goes without saying, but let us try it out in agriculture." The people clearly expressed their opinion of such challenges. By their choice, the voters did not only express their attitude toward the authorities, but also toward the national and state issue. The victory of the democratic, patriotic forces actually means that Serbia is not going to have the status of a vassal state.

[POLITIKA] Is it difficult for the SPS to face a situation in which it will share power with other parties?

### Without Parliamentary Crisis

[Minic] After these elections, the parliamentary life in Serbia is going to become manifold, so everyone will have to conform to it, and this applies to our party, as well. We are in the position of being the strongest parliamentary party. We have not given away our mandate yet, and we have not discussed the structure of the government. The issue of federal and republican governments will be discussed just after New Year's Day. The first task will be the convening of the Assembly, which should meet as early as the middle of January. This means that assembly bodies, as well as the chairman and vice chairman, will be elected by the parties that won the largest number of seats. The SPS will put forward a policy that will support the crucial issues of national and state concern, which does not mean that economic and social issues are going to be neglected.

[POLITIKA] The public has already been speculating about the socialists' forming a coalition with the radicals. Does this mean that you are disregarding the other parties when thinking of people who might enter the government?

[Minic] All I can say is that the government will be formed without any major problems, and that applies to both the federal and the republic governments. I do not believe that there could be any major parliamentary crisis, looking at the power structure in the assemblies. If there is enough political culture, and the necessary patience among the parliamentary parties in dealing with issues of greatest concern to our society, there is every reason to expect a steady mandatory period.

[POLITIKA] Many people predict new elections next year, just because of such an imbalance of forces in the Assembly, which could lead to a governmental crisis.

[Minic] In two years we have had three parliamentary elections. Some people see that as a necessary way to democracy. I think that such a way would exhaust Serbia. Since there was such a massive response of the citizens to the elections, and such results, then the parties chosen by those citizens ought to feel very responsible when establishing the government. The statements of some party leaders, saying "New elections are coming tomorrow", are very irresponsible. In a very short time, a mandate for the formation of the government will be given out, though what the government will look like is very hard to say. If it is going to be a coalition, a concentrated, or an expert government, we shall know soon.

### The Truth of Serbia Must Come to Light

[POLITIKA] According to some opinions, such result will lead to further weakening of the federal state, and even the possibility of Montenegro's break with the FRY has been speculated. Do they have right?

[Minic] The FRY is a federal state created to respond to concerns of the Serbian and the Montenegrin people. It is a homogeneous union that functions according to state, national, economic, and political interests. The FRY is not and ought not be a conflicting union. The most important thing for us is the federation organized as an effective and rational state. A strong and stable Serbia supposes at the same time a strong and stable Yugoslavia. Everything else is a manipulation used in some parties' campaigns. I believe in Yugoslavia, because our people need it, but I also believe that it's existence as a mother-country is necessary for the Serbs who have been fighting in Bosnia and Croatia for their existence and the right to self-determination. It is really a foolish thing to say that a civil war will break out because the socialists have won the elections.

[POLITIKA] The New Year's Eve is being totally overshadowed by the threats of international military intervention in Bosnia, and even Serbia has been threatened with it. Is there something that people can expect in the new year?

[Minic] The most important task is to preserve peace in this region. We are going to do anything in order to preserve it. The truth of Serbia must come to light, so that the unjust and uncivilized sanctions can be lifted. An international military intervention would be a madness. There is no reason for such intervention in Serbia, because the way we guarantee minorities' rights is the highest European standard. The fact that these rights have been observed in Vojvodina, and not in Kosovo as well, is another story. I think that all these threats are designed to intimidate the Serbian people.

[POLITIKA] On Sunday, 3 January, the second round of local elections takes place. What do you expect of it?

[Minic] Those elections are our priority in the next few days. We expect that the SPS wins in the majority of regional assemblies.

[POLITIKA] Is Milosevic, whose function of the president of the SPS has been frozen, going to retain that post after the recent presidential elections, or are there going to be some changes in the party leadership?

[Minic] Milosevic is the president of the SPS because the Second Congress of the SPS elected him. It is a pity that, according to the Serbian constitution, the state president cannot perform another function at the same time. In Montenegro, for instance, there are no such regulations. Any changes concerning the post of president of the SPS can be brought about by a congress, which means that, for the time being, everything remains as it is.

## Seselj Views Elections, Administration

*AU1101150193 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 92 p 7*

[Interview with Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, by Goran Kozic; place and date not given: "Seselj: We Are a Party of the Moderate Right"]

[Text] [POLITIKA] Since you are still confined to bed, I have to ask you if it is true that there was an attempt on your life, as rumors have it, or is it something else?

[Seselj] I had problems with the meniscus, and it has been operated on. The operation should have been carried out earlier, but I decided to hang on until the end of the election campaign. I did not want my party to suffer any political loss because of me.

[POLITIKA] Now the elections are over, do you know, at this moment, with whom you are going to form a coalition? It has been suggested that you are negotiating with the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS]?

[Seselj] Those are all ridiculous stories. We have not yet had any official contacts with anyone regarding the creation of any possible coalition. We do not know whether or not we will do so. We are not mounting such an initiative. Throughout the civilized world, it is the party with the largest number of votes that ought to initiate that, because such a party is given a mandate for forming a government by the president of the state, so there is no reason for us to start an eager race for ministerial seats at any price. We are aware of our party's momentary strength, and our attitude is that we should wait, and then decide what to do.

### More Than 100,000 Members

[POLITIKA] Do you know how many members and regional boards your party has? I ask you this because some people say that you do not have so many actual members, but rather supporters, and that many dissatisfied socialists voted for you.

[Seselj] We have already announced that our party has regional boards in all, literally in all, the Serbian districts, and in all the Montenegrin districts except Cetinje, which means that we now have 208 regional boards within the FRY. Our party has more than 100,000 members, and we are the second largest party in Serbia, and we have been maintaining this since the summer of 1991. We have not been spreading stories claiming a membership of 2 or 3 million members, as, for instance, the Socialist Party of Serbia did and then wondered where the votes had vanished to.

Our voters are people who are ideologically orientated to the same direction as the Serbian Radical Party. That is to say, toward the moderate right, for we are a party of the moderate right. And our voters are, naturally, also Serbian patriots regardless of ideology, so this time the patriotic votes elected the socialists and the radicals.

[POLITIKA] Some elements of the opposition have predicted that riots and lawlessness may be expected soon, because the "hard" radicals have taken over a large part of the authorities.

[Seselj] I, however, would claim the exact opposite, that lawlessness cannot be expected, nor street protests. If the radicals enter the administration, then civil order, peace, and a strict observation of the Constitution and the law are to be expected. We are the party that has been working incessantly for that.

[POLITIKA] By what means?

[Seselj] By all means in a lawful state. First, corruption must be stamped out. The police must be paid enough for their work, and they should be well enough off so that they are not tempted to accept small bribes from anybody. Second, their discipline has to be at the highest level. There is no area of state service where discipline has to be more outstanding than in the police.

### We Shall Pay the Police Well

[POLITIKA] What resources are we going to use to pay for such important jobs and functions?

[Seselj] We are going to pay with the money that will be paid by those who break the law, and until now, such people have continually done so without being fined. And there are many such people everywhere.

[POLITIKA] In view of this, what comment do you have on Arkan winning a seat in the Assembly?

[Seselj] Arkan is a distinguished Serbian patriot, who has proved himself on the battlefield, and he has earned his reputation as a fighter for the freedom of the Serbian people, and as such he has been entrusted by the citizens of Kosovo.

[POLITIKA] Is a fighter able to be a good politician?

[Seselj] Whether he will be a good politician or not, we shall see, but, in any case, he deserves the seat he won in the elections.

[POLITIKA] Is there a party with whom Seselj would never form a coalition, and why?

[Seselj] First, we would never form a coalition with the reformists, the United Democratic Initiative, and suchlike. Fortunately, those parties are finished, and they will not exist on the political scene any longer. The Civil Association, the People's Peasant Party, Dragan Veselinov, Vesna Pesic, and Nebojsa Popov—we hope that they have definitely left the political scene. Therefore we shall never enter a coalition with DEPOS led by Vuk Draskovic, Vojislav Kostunica, and Matija Beckovic. We shall never ever make a coalition with them. Ask all the people that have had any contact with them how their arrangements and compromises finished. After all, Vuk Draskovic himself is known for never keeping his word in his whole life. Their campaign advertisement read: "People who are true to their word—DEPOS," and I find it ludicrous. Their word—oh yes, of course, but all their words are lies, so what are they? People who are true to their lies! Of course, there are people among them who I suppose are good and honorable, but DEPOS basically needs personnel changes to be able to play any serious political role on our political stage. If it comes to political and personnel changes, then we might be able to talk.

### "I Have Evidence of Treason"

[POLITIKA] What course will relations between Serbia and the Federation take? Do you believe that Mr. Milan Panic is going to remain in office? Will President Cosic resign, and if so, why?

[Seselj] I expect Panic to end up in prison. On Tuesday [29 December] we shall insist in the Assembly on discussing our request for a vote of no confidence in him. We believe that there are reasons for that—his government should remain no longer than one more month, until the Assembly convenes. We have categorical proof: a copy of the letter, which I have already shown to journalists at the news conference, Panic's letter to Eagleburger requesting direct American interference in our internal affairs and Eagleburger's help with his campaign. I have also come into possession of a document proving that Panic stole immense sums of state money—$150,000 in cash, which he took for his visit to America. What kind of travel expenses can justify that sum of money? I have all the documentation, I have shown it to journalists, and now I am going to present it again in the Assembly.

You asked me about Dobrica Cosic. I think that Cosic made serious mistakes in the campaign, and those mistakes are really unacceptable for a head of a state. Cosic has been continuously disregarding his position as regulated by the Constitution. He is only a ceremonial head of the state. According to the Constitution, he has no authority, except being formally the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, which means that he only rubber-stamps decisions, officers' promotions, and so forth.

Cosic anticipates some further difficulties in his teamwork with the Assembly, and therefore, of course, there will be problems until he yields to the Assembly.

Cosic has been manipulating the church for his political ends. The following is only one link in the chain of such practices. I have discussed the matter twice with His Eminence, the Serbian patriarch Pavle, and I have no intention of discussing it again. I told him that he should not have taken part in the meeting of 9 March this year, a meeting organized by the treacherous part of the opposition. After that, the patriarch saw fit to favor Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjevic. The church should favor neither the monarchy nor the republic, as it is superior to both, and the faithful may be republicans or monarchists, according to their personal choice. We also condemned the fact that the majority of the clergy had taken part at the Vidovdan convention here in Belgrade.

### "Economic and Social Problems"

[Seselj] So, how are orthodox Christians, who do not belong to any of the treacherous parties, supposed to feel after such conduct by the clergy? And then comes the patriarch to Dobrica Cosic, and says that Cosic ought to stick around. Who is the patriarch to decide this? I thought it was the Assembly that appointed Cosic, not the patriarch. And he also talks about the unity of state and church. There can be no such unity, since only the unity of the people and the church can exist, and the former concept was abolished as long ago as the French bourgeois revolution, which first introduced secularism into state policy, and strictly separated church from civil affairs.

[POLITIKA] It is already known that the West is not satisfied with the result of the Serbian elections, but, considering their disposition, is there any reason for alarm....

[Seselj] No.

[POLITIKA] ...and is military intervention to be expected, after such a long period of threats?

[Seselj] I do not believe that there will be military intervention, because now that the West has witnessed the will of the Serbian people, it will not intervene. The West intervenes only where it sees weakness and vacillation. In our case, the Serbian people have resolutely shown their patriotic feelings, and with their consummate patriotic act have shown the international public how we feel, so the West will not intervene here, of this I am now absolutely convinced. I was afraid of all this until the announcement of the election results. Now I am convinced that no military intervention will take place, at least in the foreseeable future.

[POLITIKA] We all heard the speech of President Slobodan Milosevic to the nation. How do you appraise it, and would you add anything or criticize it?

[Seselj] I think that his address to the nation was all right, and I support his insistence on the following priorities: civil order and peace, elimination of corruption from our social life, and solutions to economic problems. However, I would add to these latter social problems, as well.

## Belgrade Mayor: Serbs Victims of Media 'Genocide'

*LD1101184693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 11 Jan 93*

[Text] Belgrade, January 11 (TANJUG)—One of the things the Armenian and the Serbian people have in common is the fact that they have more than once in this century been victims of genocide and that in this decade they have become victims of a genocide conducted by the media, Belgrade's Mayor Slobodanka Gruden and a delegation from the Armenian capital of Yerevan said on Monday [11 January].

Minister of Information of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Milivoje Pavlovic said that Armenians and Serbs were being killed with weapons and in many countries with words.

The Armenian delegation said that they had difficulties in getting objective reports from Serbia and that they wished to establish a permanent information channel between Armenia and Serbia.

Gruden said that Belgrade, despite the several-month blockade imposed by the United Nations, was still a great economic, cultural, university and medical centre which has given refuge to more than 300,000 refugees from the breakaway republics of former Yugoslavia.

## Serbian Xenophobia in Elections Criticized

*AU1201104593 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 92 p 17*

[Commentary by Petar Ignja: "The Totalitarian Screen"]

[Text] The results of the elections will be known as early as Thursday [24 December], or perhaps Friday—announced an accredited staffer of state television (a female reporter who appeared to have come straight from a gypsy bazaar to the Federal Assembly). It seems that this tragicomedy, steeped in cynicism, managed to upset even [head of Serbian Television Milorad] Vucelic himself, so that in later broadcasts this popular journalistic screen goddess, with the hairstyle of a Little Hiawatha, dropped the *as early as Thursday* bit and limited herself to saying just Thursday and Friday.

The unofficial results are known. Those that until now have stubbornly insisted on calling themselves socialists (of Swedish orientation) will not have a majority in the assemblies and will have to form a coalition with those who will agree to it. These are the radicals. Well now, how will a party which declares itself to be leftist have the nerve to form a coalition with pronounced right-wingers, whose ideology is based on extreme nationalism and biological extermination? This remains to be seen. We are especially interested in seeing how state television will interpret it.

It will have an answer ready as early as Thursday. Bavarian ale-houses and Balkan drinking dens? They go well together. And we narrowly escaped getting a certain march for our national anthem [reference to the proposal to adopt the First World War military march "March on the Drina" as Serbia's national anthem].

State television was the starting point for the pre-election persecution of Milan Panic, the main political opponent of both the television and the state. There is no point, and today there is also not enough paper, to repeat everything that was said on television against Panic. Those who were aware of this will understand. For those who were not, there is no point in explaining. Convincing semi-literate people who prefer the fiddle [gusle] to the piano (it is simpler to use), that Panic is a traitor and a foreign agent, was the most efficient way to stop him from winning the elections. Those who would have voted for Panic risked being called traitors themselves, while siding with those who, with their strength and heroism, want to protect and unite all the Serbs, bestowed a halo of traditional heroism on the voters themselves. However, what no one explained to those voters that believed the television when it told them that war was the only way to protect and unite the Serbs, is that various leaders and heroes have been trying for 200 years to unite and protect the Serbs through war, but that this unification has not happened so far, nor will it happen now. However, there are once again going to be fewer Serbs.

One terrible and insane trait of the Serbian people is that it hates everything foreign and new, and that it places its tribal and traditional feelings above everything else. This trait has put it in the position it is in today: Isolated from the world, sunk in material poverty (and not only today), an ancient people has been reduced to a group of only 10 million, when there should be seven times more of us.

Of course, those that do not agree with this portrayal of the Serbian people will be indignant, but instead, they should remember the wise and honorable Jerina, who brought to Smederevo the best Greek builders to construct the last Serbian bulwark against the Turks—the famous city of Smederevo. What did she receive for her pains? Folk songs in which the Serbs call her—damned. Just because she was Greek and did not conform to their backward Serbianhood [Srpstvo].

Panic is no writer and his speech and vocabulary are devoid of subtleties. After being exposed for days to terrible psychological torture on state television—it was so bad that at times it could have been compared to the methods of the Spanish Inquisition or to the refined Chinese water torture—at one point Panic cracked and said that Milosevic was sending his dogs to the television station to bark at him. Whereupon the red rose activists held their meetings and then appeared constantly on television, repeating how that foreigner, that spy and traitor, had called some of the most honorable Serbs, nay, the whole Serbian nation, dogs.... It is too bad that Panic said it quite as he did. He is also to blame. He could have done some reading during the breather he took while making dollars. Then his sentence, spoken in Zajecar, would have run like this: Milosevic is sending his people to the television station so that they can bark like dogs at Panic. That would have been literature.

For the first time in my life, I was frightened by the terrible isolation of some Serbs. In a television survey, one of them said that Panic had started to speak German and had already on Thursday brought Germans into Serbia. Poor thing. I pitied him. In his ignorance (which is not a harmless state to be in), he had confused Panic's English *help* for the German *halt*. However, before that is explained to that illiterate Serb, Panic's head will already have fallen into the basket.

The admired and the admirers of state television are nowadays trying to denounce the reporters of Independent Television as enemies and traitors. This will be hard going. First, there are plenty of literate people at Independent Television, and second, there are many literate people who watch them. Are they perhaps sometimes *one-sided*? Yes. I watched them as early as Thursday. I could have chosen not to watch them, but that would not have suited me. In fact, they do not owe the *Serbian* public anything, since everything they offer, every news item, every broadcast, they offer free of charge. They do not have a state monopoly, and they are not robbing the nation. This is all I have to say. I think the same of the television as the organization for which I work.

What Serbia voted for in the elections (or most of her because there are two sides to the Serbian coin—a democratic one and one content to carry out the master's orders), is not the topic of this *article*. The topic is totalitarian television, the monstrous control of information, hair-raising political propaganda, and a blind devotion to the ruling oligarchy.

What more is in store for us?

I am going to risk being accused of plagiarism when I paraphrase the great writer Danilo Kis: For the nations of this world, this century, in these times, there is only one true test of conscience; only two subjects you can fail on, thereby forfeiting your moral right to speak once and for all—fascism and Stalinism; everything else is trivia. And what about patriotism for either of them? A cheap bargain, like all the cheap bargains offered by totalitarian regimes. A cheap bargain price for a massacre.

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## Serbian TV Gives Low Priority to Cosic Address

*AU1201082893 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 93 p 5*

[Article by N.L.: "The President and the Television"]

[Text] The president of the state is to address the nation—an event of top importance in these dramatic times was announced. This was the case all over the world, except in Yugoslavia. The fact that Dobrica Cosic would address the nation on Wednesday [6 January] was announced on Monday. On Wednesday, however, it was not known until late afternoon when the Serbian Television cameras would start to roll from the presidential cabinet.

For the television viewers, the address to the nation involved a frantic search through the channels. Finally, Cosic's address to the nation, which had been recorded in the afternoon, was broadcast on Serbian Radio and Television's first channel only at 2130. The prime time, which is reserved for special programs after the second, most viewed television newscast, was used for other reports.

The fact that only an excerpt of the president's address to the nation was shown in the second newscast, 22 minutes into the program, and the full version, as we have already said, was broadcast unabridged only later, provoked various reactions.

Some jokingly noted that such a prioritizing of reports probably signalled a new, independent editorial policy of this house. Others saw much more in this, but certainly no professional criteria. Such a premise was confirmed when the television announced that it was an "expose" of Cosic and not his address to the nation that would be broadcast.... Other television stations gave prime time to the president's message to the nation. Why did Serbian television not do so?